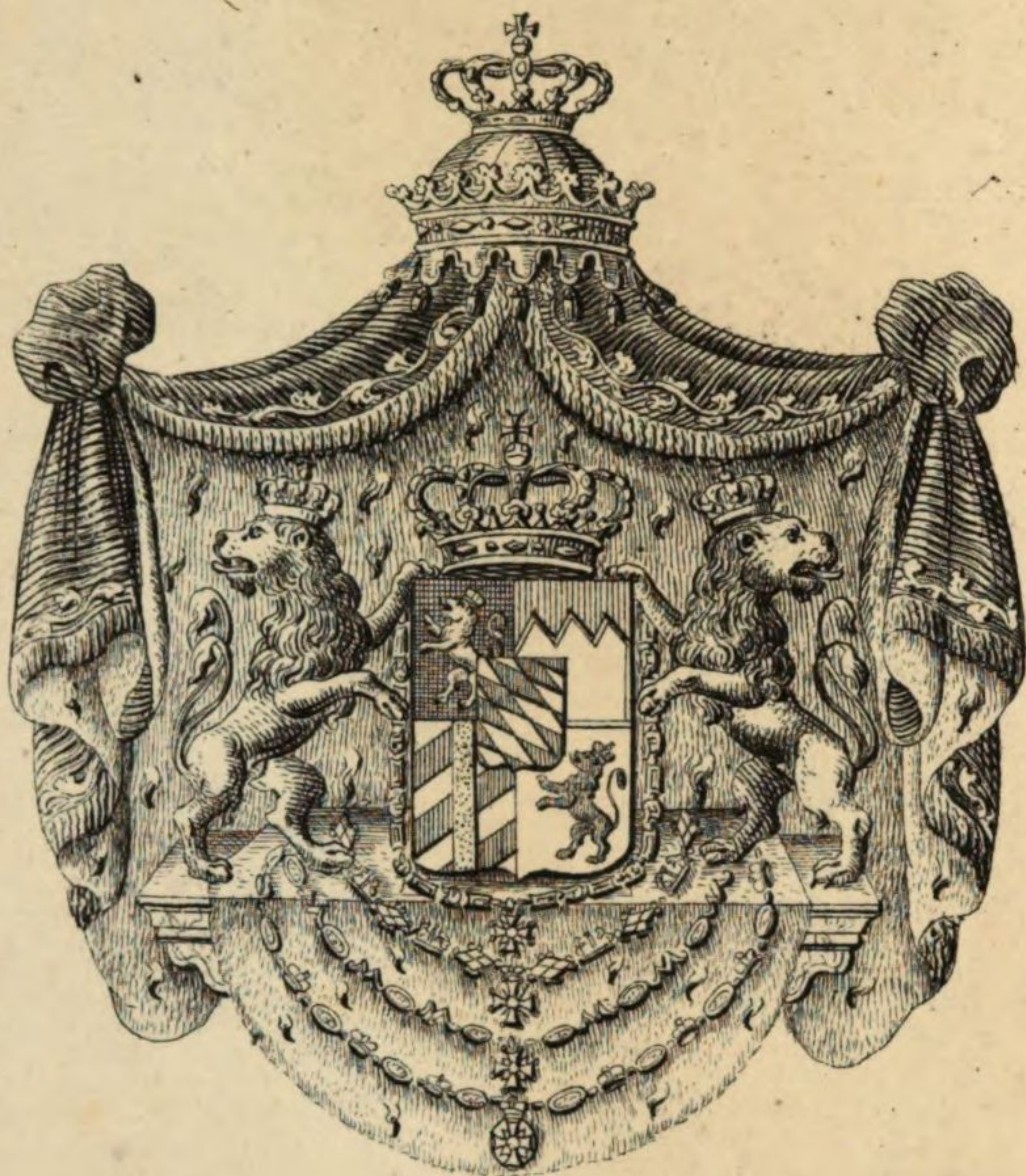


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A Compendious

HISTORY

OF THE

REFORMATION in *France*,

AND OF THE

Reformed CHURCHES in that Kingdom.

FROM

The First Beginnings of the REFORMATION,

TO THE

*R*epealing of the Edict of *NANTZ*.

WITH

An ACCOUNT of the late Persecution of the
French Protestants under *Lewis XIV*. Extracted
out of the best Authorities.

A WORK never before Published.

By the Reverend

STEPHEN ABEL LAVAL,

One of the Ministers of the United Chapels of *Castle-street*
and *Berwick-street*.

VOL. II.

Discite Justitiam moniti, nec temnite Numen.

LONDON:

Printed by H. WOODFALL, for the AUTHOR.

MDCCLXXXVIII.

O ye Men, are not Women strong? great is the Earth, high is the Heaven, swift is the Sun in his Course, for he compasseth the Heavens round about, and fetcheth his Course again to his own Place in one Day. Is he not great that maketh these Things? Therefore great is the Truth, and stronger than all Things. All the Earth calleth upon the Truth, and the Heaven bleisseth it, all Works shake and tremble at it, and with it is no unrighteous thing. Wine is wicked, the King is wicked, Women are wicked; all the Children of Men are wicked, and such are all their wicked Works; and there is no Truth in them; in their Unrighteousness also they shall perish. As for the Truth it endureth, and is always strong, it liveth and conquereth for evermore. With her there is no accepting of Persons, or Rewards, but she doth the things that are just, and refraineth from all unjust and wicked things, and all Men do well like of her Works. Neither in her Judgment is any Unrighteousness, and she is the Strength, Kingdom, Power and Majesty of all Ages. Blessed be the God of Truth. The first Apocryphal Book of Esdras, ch. iv. v. 34,--40.

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T H E

P R E F A C E.

WE have observed in the former Volume, that from the tenth Century, the Christian World groaned under the tyrannical Yoke of the Roman See ; the gross Errors that had almost swallowed up the true Doctrine of the Gospel ; the enormous Corruption of the Discipline ; the exorbitant Usurpations of the Popes ; their tyrannical Government ; their Pride, Avarice and Luxury ; the Clergy's Ignorance and Dissoluteness, had rendered the Face of the Church entirely despicable, and called aloud for a Reformation in the Head as well as in the Members ; when Luther, full of Indignation, on account of Tezelius's Impudence in publishing the Indulgences in Germany, opposed him publicly in the Year 1516. He was soon after followed by the most eminent for Learning and Piety

Piety all over Europe: for the Time appointed by God was come, and the Son of God's Harvest was full ripe.

We have seen that, especially in France, the Light of the Gospel was kindled a-new, whereto they opposed, as in every other place, Fire and Sword. Nevertheless FRANCIS I. was almost persuaded to consent to a Reformation in the Church; and even he sent into Germany, LANGEY, one of the greatest Men of his Age, in order to confer with MELANCHTON, BUCER, OECOLAMPADE, and some others; nay, he wrote to them, desiring their best Advice upon that Subject. But whereas he stood in need of the Pope against Charles V. he dropt that Design, and the Persecution grew fiercer than before.

Henry II. his Son went on in persecuting the Reformed, even with a greater Fury than the King his Father, save only that while he stood in need of the Protestant Princes of Germany against the Pope and the Emperor, he was obliged to relent during that Time; but Peace being made between France and Spain, the Persecution grew fiercer, and would have exceeded those of Decius and Dioclesian, had not the unexpected Death of that Prince put an end to it.

'Tis true, that under Francis II. Fires were almost extinguish'd throughout the Kingdom; but it was for persecuting the Reformed more cruelly in another Manner
and

and under other Pretences, whereby they intended to deprive them of the Glory of Martyrdom.

And whereas they were associated with those that complained of the Mal-Administration of the Government, and petitioned for Redress, they were charged with High Treason, and the Persecution fell more especially upon those of the highest Rank, being very sensible that these being once taken out of the way, the rest would fall of it self. The Providence of God intervened again on that occasion, and at the very nick of time, when the fatal Blow was ready to strike off the Chief, the young King Francis departed this Life; the Cardinal of Lorraine wondering at this providential Preservation of one of the first Princes of the Blood, could not forbear exclaiming as the Magicians of Egypt, CERTAINLY HERE IS THE FINGER OF GOD! Soon after the Face and Council of France seemed quite altered.

Charles IXth succeeded to the Crown, and the Reformed of every Rank were in such vast numbers in all the Provinces of the Kingdom, notwithstanding the former bloody Persecutions they had undergone, that it was thought proper for the Welfare of the State to preserve them, and to hearken to their just Petitions. Therefore it was advised to confer with them about the Points controverted between them and the Catholicks (and lest the Pope should

I

should be offended at the Name of a National Council, it went by that of a Colloque or Conference) and then to assemble the General States of the Kingdom, to resolve upon what should be determined in that Conference. Accordingly it was held at Poissy in September 1561, and lasted three Months: There the Ministers enter'd in Disputation with the Prelates, before the King, the Queen-Regent, the Princes of the Blood, and a numerous Assembly of the greatest Lords, and the Notables of the Kingdom; they agreed upon the Reformation of several Articles, and even upon that of the Holy Supper, which they construed in such Words, that both Parties were ready to subscribe, when the Sorbonne, at the Cardinal of Tournon's instigation, disavowed what had been done by the Prelates and Divines, holding to that Maxim of Rome, *That to consent to the Reformation of any single Article, is to declare one's self guilty of Error in all others.*

Therefore, as they could not proceed any further, it was resolved to put the Subjects in a way of living peaceably together; and for that end the Edict of the 17th of January 1562, was published, whereby the free and publick Exercise of their Religion was granted to the Reformed.

But the boundless and restless Ambition of the House of Guise, would not suffer them to foresee the Peace and Tranquillity which

which the Kingdom was to enjoy on account of that Edict, without fretting and gnashing their Teeth. Had the two Parties, the Catholicks and the Reformed, agreed together in a mutual Forbearance, and mutual Endeavours to procure the Welfare of the Kingdom, and restore it to its ancient Splendor, the Cardinal of Lorrain and the Duke of Guise his Brother, would have seen their vast Projects falling to the Ground. Therefore they must devise some Pretence or other for defeating the good and pious Intentions of the wholesomest, nay, the greatest Part of the Kingdom: None but *that of Religion* could answer their Ends; it is a very tender Point to every Man that has any Conscience left; so they took hold of that, and Men that had no Sense at all of Duty or Religion, began to cry out, that *the Church was in Danger*; that *Religion was upon the Brink of its utter Destruction, if not timely secured from it*. They wanted not Emissaries in every Province, who took care to instil such Fears and Jealousies in the Minds of the People, and having secured to their Interest the first Prince of the Blood, the Constable, and the Marshal of St. Andrew, and taken other Measures without the Kingdom, which they thought necessary, they began the Tragedy by the cruel and bloody Massacre of the Reformed at Vassy, which was, as it were, the Specimen of their rebellious Dispositions,

positions, the Alarm-Bell which excited all the Kingdom, and armed the French one against another, and the Signal of all those dreadful Calamities concomitant with the Civil Wars, especially when Religion is the Pretence thereof.

Of these Things I have undertaken to give a short Account in this present Volume. It would be needless to apologize here for this first taking of Arms by the Reformed, since all the Conditions that may render lawful such an Act, are to be met with in this their Conduct: The manifest Oppression of some petty Tyrants that endeavoured to raise their *Grandeur* upon the Ruin of their Sovereign's, and to settle their Authority at the cost of the King's; the express and positive Command of the highest Power, to whom the supreme Authority of Governing was devolved by the General Consent of those that had an undoubted Right of chusing their Governor during a Minority, I mean the Queen-Regent: Lastly, their Readiness to lay down their Arms, whenever they could foresee, that in so doing, the Peace and Tranquillity of the Kingdom, and the Liberty of their Consciences could be secured. These Things, I say, are more than sufficient to vindicate their Innocence, without any further Apology; and if any of my Readers think proper to subjoin to this, King Charles IXth's Letter to the Seneschalship of Thoulouse, as
related

related in the Article of that City, and his Thanks to the Inhabitants of Nimes after the publishing of the Edict of Peace, he will find in both Matter for wondering at the Boldness and Barefacedness of some Jesuits, who did not scruple to charge the Reformed with being the Authors and Abettors of this first Civil War, and take occasion from it for speaking of them as if their Principles tended to Sedition and Rebellion against lawful Powers.

But some will say, perhaps, What need have we to renew the Remembrance of these past Calamities? Would it not have been better to have *them* buried in an eternal Oblivion? To what purpose to recall the Memory of so many tragical Events, which can only fill the Mind with Sorrow, Grief and Indignation? For the Honour of the French, nay, of the Christian Name, was it not to be wished for, that the Memory of all those Barbarities should be abolished, and that the Books written upon that Subject should be cast into the Fire? So it may be that I shall be charged with an Intent and Design of awakening and exciting the Passions, and of keeping up the Fire of Hatred and Revenge, when I relate in this History the blackest Actions transacted and perpetrated in France in the 16th Century. Abominable Time indeed! in comparison of which the present Age may be reckoned as a
Golden

Golden Age, tho' very far remote from true Virtue.

This is an Objection which Bayle hath proposed to himself in the Article of his Dictionary wherein he speaks of MACON. Richard Dinoth did the same about a hundred Years before ; each of them has answered and endeavoured to satisfy his Reader as well as himself, according to his peculiar way of Reasoning.

This is indeed a specious Objection ; I own that a Man who has any Sense of Humanity left cannot read without Horror the Relation of such cruel and barbarous Actions as those perpetrated, especially in this first Civil War : For how little soever Inclination he hath to the Peace of the Church, he will avoid carefully whatever is apt to renew Wounds that are not well healed ; and one must be actuated by an evil Spirit, who undertake to renew the Remembrance of certain Actions odious by themselves, moved to that only by the Pleasure (unworthy of an upright Man) of publishing them, or for making a Show of his vast Reading.

But this is not the Case at present ; the Sores of the Reformed Church are not healed at all ; they are grown wider and wider since the middle of the last Century ; the Roads of Sion mourn still. As yet there is no Agreement at all between the Protestant or the Reformed, and the Catholick. Nay, such

such an Agreement is impossible, unless the one or the other do renounce his Principles; unless the Catholick would renounce, or the Reformed would submit himself to Human Authority in matters of Faith.

We may then very lawfully; nay, we are bound in Duty and Conscience to publish the many Injustices and Cruelties we have undergone; and whereas those by whom we have been so hardly dealt with, have done nothing in that respect, but out of Principles of their Religion, those for the sake of whom we have written an Account of them, ought to be thankful for the Warning we do give them here, and which is grounded upon our own sad Experience, to the end that they should be cautious how they treat with the Roman Catholicks, and that they would take such Securities with them, as it should be out of their Power to break their Faith; seeing that it is historically demonstrated, that they will stand by their Treaties no longer than they shall find their account in them, or be out of Condition of breaking them.

That Decree of the Constantian Council, *That Faith is not to be kept with Hereticks*; hath it ever been repealed? This Decision, *That one may do any thing, howsoever unjust in it self, if it is done for the good of the Church*, (whereby the Roman Church is meant) *it becomes lawful*; hath it ever been condemned? And tho' the Pope's Au-

thority doth not stretch itself so far now-a-days, as it did in the 16th Century, hath he not still Power enough, to disturb the Peace of Christendom, by the means of his Emissaries, whenever he shall be pleased to make use of them? Alas! a single trusty Confessor is enough for that: For if a Prince of the Roman Communion takes a Fancy for another Man's Wife, the Protestant and Reformed will be at that Confessor's mercy, because, in order to expiate his Penitent's Crime, he will enjoin him for a Penance, to invade his Neighbour's Dominions, to carry Fire and Sword into Countries, where they thought of nothing else but to live quietly, and to destroy utterly what he calls the Hereticks. Why, is it so long since we have seen Instances of this, to have them so soon forgotten? Or the Principles and Maxims of the Church of Rome in that respect, are they so far altered from 30 or 40 Years ago, that we might believe that what hath happened heretofore, shall not happen any more hereafter? As long as the same Principles do subsist, as long as the Decrees of the Councils are not repealed, is it not reasonable to think that the same Causes will produce the same Effects?

It is then needful to set forth these dreadful Effects before the Eyes of those, who for having felt them but very little, or not at all, have but very indifferent Notions of them, and even but such a one that the least Breeze

Breeze of Prosperity, is able to blot it out of their Minds; it is proper to let them know, that after God, they are beholden to the excellent Constitution of their Government, that Liberty whereof they enjoy for the Temporal, as well as for the Spiritual. Had it not been for that Constitution, they would have been exposed, as many of us have been, to the Miseries of a tedious Exile, or they would groan under the Yoke of a Slavery, which neither we nor our Forefathers could bear with.

Besides that, what Dinot observes is very true, Wars are Scourges whereby God Almighty punishes the Sins of Men; and the Relation of the great Calamities they bring upon Nations, are so many Demonstrations of his Providence and Justice, whereby People ought to be brought to a serious Amendment of Life.

Whoever shall rightly consider every Transaction in the War, will evidently see the mighty Providence of God. For what can we say, when we see that after several mature Consultations and Deliberations, all the Schemes of the Cabinet Council so wisely laid for the Management of an unavoidable War, or the Operations of a Campaign, are defeated by unforeseen Accidents; nay, sometimes by the most trifling ones, when what seemed the properest means for avoiding a Danger, prove to be the reverse; when stout and resolute Men, inured to

b 2

Arms,

Arms, seiz'd with a Panick, forget that they are Soldiers, and suffer themselves to be slain like Cowards: What can we say to this, but that human Prudence is sometimes over-ruled by Providence? Cato wondered at the Victories of Julius Cæsar Enemy to his Country, and Pompeius questioned whether there was any Providence at all; because they knew not that, for the Sins of the Land, Kingdoms are transferred, and that all States and Commonwealths have some fatal Period. Boadicea fighting for the Liberty of her Country, bemoaned the Fate of the Roman Empire, to be governed by such a Monster as *Nero*, because she knew not that for the Sins of the People, and by a just Judgment of God, who punishes Sins by other Sins, he suffers the Wicked to be exalted and rule. When we see the Tyranny of Princes and Great Ones to be chastised by the Fierceness of their Subjects; and the Haughtiness and Insolence of a Nation humbled by the Courage of valiant Heroes; are we not forced to acknowledge that the Lord God is just, and righteous his Judgments, because *there is no respect of Persons with him*. When the mighty Cities are overthrown, wealthy People plundered and pillaged, and invincible Nations forced to bear the Yoke of an Enemy; is it not plain that God is a severe Avenger of Pride, Luxury and Insolence? Wars are then so many Decrees of
God's

God's Justice, which we cannot avert but by Repentance, and a sincere Amendment of Life.

Whereas then we see that the Vices and detestable Acts whereat Princes and Magistrates connive, do not go unpunished, but are severely chastised at the Hands of God, by the greatest Calamities of the War, shall we not learn to fear his mighty Wrath, and to avert his Judgment by a sincere Repentance? That is the great Benefit we must reap from our reading the History; these things we must observe; thereupon we must dwell, rather than upon the Triumphs and Trophies of the Great Captains and Heroes.

Certain it is, that the Crimes of the French Nation were come to their height, in the 50 last Years of the House of Valois, the Corruption of the Court which spreadeth it self over all the States of the Realm, and from the Head communicated itself to all the Members, especially under the two last Reigns, was such, that *Morvilliers* Bishop of Orleans, tho' a great Favourite, and not over scrupulous, declined to write the History of his own Time, under Pretence, *that he was too faithful a Servant to the Kings his Masters, for undertaking such a Work.* He could find nothing in the whole Course of Charles IX. and Henry III's Reigns, but what would reflect a Shame upon their Memory. No wonder then

then if God grieved with that Generation, dealt with the House of Valois, and the whole Kingdom, as if he had sworn unto the first, their utter Destruction, and unto the latter their Slavery under the Spanish tyrannical Yoke, to be no more a Nation, a brave and wealthy People, but the Drudges of the Spaniards!

Happy those who gratefully acknowledging the inestimable Blessings they enjoy, endeavour to secure them to themselves and their Posterity, by a constant Application to their several Duties, as Christians, as Patriots, and as Men, in the several Stations of their Lives, and the several Relations they have in the Society, and carefully avoid all those Vices and Crimes, Impiety, Profanation, Luxury, Lewdness, and other such, which are a certain Prognostick of the near Fall of the greatest Empires, when tolerated or countenanced.

Now I must say a Word of this Volume; it contains only the History of the first Civil War in France of the 16th Century. I intended at first to insert in this Volume, the History of all our Civil Wars, from 1562, down to the Edict of Nantz, in 1598, but such an Abridgement would not have answered our End, viz. the Information of those that have not had Opportunity of reading the History of our Country written by *Thuanus*, and some other impartial Historians. Therefore, thinking my self obliged to be more particular in several Articles, than a
bare

bare Abridgment could allow, I have divided into two Volumes, what I designed at first to publish in one ; and if any one of my Subscribers should think that a sordid Interest hath been the Reason that hath induc'd me to alter my Scheme, my Comfort is, that there is not one of them with whom I have the Happiness or Honour to be acquainted, but will readily acquit me from such a base and shameful Intention. As for the remaining Volumes, there will be two and no more, as big as the first.

Besides *Thuanus*, *Beza*, *D'Aubigné*, &c. out of which especially I have extracted what I have written in the First Volume, in this I have made use of the Memoirs of *Michel de Castelnau* Lord of *Mauvissere*, *La Nouë's* political and military Discourses, *Richard Dinoth* of the Civil Wars in *France*, and a few other co-temporary Historians. The first was a Man no less conspicuous for his Integrity, and his great Sagacity in the Management of the publick Affairs, wherewith he was intrusted, than for his Birth, and the great Employments to which his great Merit had raised him : He was much distinguished in *Queen Elizabeth's* Court ; and that great Princess, who was certainly a good Judge of true Merit, had a very great value for him : He came over to *England* several times as Ambassador of *France*, and was charged with Negotiations of the nicest na-

nature : Such as, the Marriage of one of the King's Brothers with Queen *Elizabeth*, and the Affairs of *Mary Queen of Scotland* and Dowager of *France*. He wrote his Memoirs for the use of his Son, but he does not go further than the Year 1570. They were published for the first Time in 1659, by *Agricola (Le Laboureur)* Prior of *Juvigné*, with considerable Additions, and Commentaries of his own. He was a Man in every respect qualified for such an Undertaking, save only that he had too much of that Pride common to the Roman Catholick Authors, whenever they write any thing concerning the Reformed Party, that must be forgiven to their Education ; especially when in other respects they do Justice to every one without partiality ; and it is what the Prior of Juvigné has done in many places of his Additions. The 2d Edition of 1731, printed at Bruxelles, in 3 Volumes Folio, is that whereof I have made use in this Volume. The Great and Illustrious *Francis De La Nouë*, surnamed Iron-Arm, wrote his political and military Discourses in a Dungeon, where he was kept by the Spaniards always very little acquainted with Humanity ; he was taken by them Prisoner of War at Ingelmonster, in the Year 1580, detained and used very cruelly till the Year 1585 : He was a Man of such Integrity and Honour, that one might entirely depend upon his Word

Word and Credit; his Character will find its proper Place in our Fifth Book, which shall be the first of our next Volume. As to Richard Dinoth he was a Norman, and published his History in Latin in the Year 1582. He tells us himself that he hath received a great Help in his Composition, especially from two other Authors; the one has written the Ecclesiastical History from the Year 1522, to the Year 1563, (*and that is the History that goes under the Name of Beza:*) The other has written the History of *France*, from the Year 1550, to the Year 1577, (*and that must be La Popeliniere.*) Besides that, he was himself Eye-witness of many things he has related. Bayle tells us in his Article of Dinoth, That that Historian has written without being too much prepossessed with Passion, and certainly every one that reads this History, must subscribe readily to Bayle's Judgment; he did likewise publish a History of the Civil Wars of the Low-Countries, printed at Basil, in 1580, or 1586; for I have not seen this, and the Catalogue of Oxford don't agree with the Edition which Bayle did make use of in his Time.

Whereas I have ascribed the Critical Remarks on Bayle's Dictionary, to the Learned Society of Trevoux, I think my self obliged in Honour to declare here, that I have no other Authority for such an Assertion, only

Hear-say ; but if I am mistaken, I am ready to give whatever Satisfaction shall be thought proper, by impartial Judges.

Tho' this Volume is more correct than the first, as to the Language, nevertheless I could not quite forget that I am a Frenchman ; and therefore I beg the Forbearance of my Reader for the Gallicisms.



HISTORY



HISTORY

OF THE

REFORMATION

AND OF THE

Reformed Churches in FRANCE.

VOL. II.

BOOK IV.

Containing the History of one Year, two Months and ten Days, from the 17th of January 1562, to the 27th of March, 1564.

CONTENTS.

Introduction. I. Great Opposition to the Edict. II. The Parliament of Paris registers it with some Restrictions. III. Conferences about the Images. IV. The Guises absent from Court. They keep Correspondence with Spain. V. They made sure of the King of Navarr, who forsakes by degrees the Reformed. VI. The Queen of Navarr's great Courage. VII. The GUISES Conferences with the Duke of WIRTEMBERG. VIII. Their Reasons for taking that Step.

VOL. II. B IX.

IX. *They resolve to persecute the Reformed.*
 X. *The Massacre of Vassy.* XI. *The Duke of Guise Author and Abettor of it. Proved by some Considerations upon matters of Fact.* XII. *The Jesuits of Trevoux mis-reason when they vindicate the said Duke.* XIII. *How the News of that Tragedy was received in France.* XIV. *The Duke comes to NANTEUIL.* XV. *The Queen's Orders to the Duke and the Marshal of ST. ANDREW. How received by them.* XVI. *The Reformed send a Deputation to Court.* XVII. *How received by the Queen.* XVIII. *How received by the King of NAVARR.* XIX. *BEZA's Reply to the said King.* XX. *The Duke's publick Entry at PARIS.* XXI. *The Reformed of PARIS entreat the Prince to protect them, which he promises to do.* XXII. *The Queen Mother's Perplexity.* XXIII. *Four of her Letters to the Prince of CONDE'.* XXIV. *They have their effect upon the Prince.* XXV. *He asks Money of the PARISIANS Reformed, and is refused.* XXVI. *The TRIUMVIRS sent a Deputation to the Queen.* XXVII. *The Queen's Answer.* XXVIII. *The King of NAVARR goes to PARIS; and the Prince goes out of it.* XXIX. *The Duke of GUISE goes to FONTAINEBLEAU.* XXX. *The TRIUMVIRS bring forcibly the King and Queen to PARIS.* XXXI. *The Constable's Violences against the Reformed.* XXXII. *The Licentiousness of the Mob increased by that Example.* XXXIII. *The Triumvirs resolve upon a War against the Prince.* XXXIV. *Great Changes in the King's Council.* XXXV. *D'Aubigné's Account for the Admiral's Delays.* XXXVI. *The Prince sent D'ANDELOT to ORLEANS.* XXXVII. *The Prince sets out from MEAUX.* XXXVIII. *The Enemy amuses him upon the Road.* XXXIX. *Orleans*

C O N T E N T S.

iii

leans surprized by D'Andelot. XL. *The Prince's Entry into it.* XLI. *The Princess of Condé assaulted on the Road.* XLII. *The Dowager of ROYE retires to Strasbourg.*---- XLIII. *Violences against the Reformed at Paris.* XLIV. *Some general Considerations on the past Transactions.* XLV. *Of the Lords adhering to the Prince.* XLVI. *Of the Prince of PORCIAN.* XLVII. *Of the Count of LA ROCHEFOUCAULT.* XLVIII. *Of the Viscount of ROHAN.* XLIX. *Of the Count of GRAMMONT.* L. *Of the Count of MONTGOMERY.* LI. *Of the Lord of SOUBISE.* LII. *Of the Lord of MOUY.* LIII. *Of the Lord ESTERNAY.* LIV. *Of the Lord of GENLIS.* LV. *The Prince's Letters to the Reformed Churches.* LVI. *Effect of these Letters.* LVII. *The Conduct of the ROCHELLERS on this Occasion.* LVIII. *The Prince's first Manifesto.* LIX. *He sent a Deputy to the Protestant Princes of Germany.* LX. *Articles of his Association.* LXI. *The Guises Answer to the Prince's Manifesto.* LXII. *The Nobility summoned by the Court.* LXIII. *The Prince's warlike Preparations.* LXIV. *The Parliament of Paris, Answer to the Prince.* LXV. *The Prince's second Declaration.* LXVI. *The Triumvirs reject his Propositions, and make very tyrannical ones of their own.* LXVII. *The King's Council takes a middle way.* LXVIII. *The Queen writes to the Prince.* LXIX. *Agri- cola's Reflection on the Prince's Conduct.* LXX. *The Reformed's great Increase; their prepos- terous Zeal against Images.* LXXI. *The third National Synod of the Reformed Churches.* LXXII. *Deliberations in the Prince's Council.* They send two Deputies in Germany. LXXIII.

The Prince seizes upon several Cities, and strengthens himself at Orleans. LXXIV. Negotiations for Peace still on foot. The Prince writes to the Queen, and publishes a second Manifesto. LXXV. The Triumvirs Answer. LXXVI. The King's Council's Answer. LXXVII. The Prince's third Manifesto. LXXVIII. The Effects of it. Reformed severely handled at Paris. LXXIX. The Prince's Mildness towards the Catholicks. LXXX. The Triumvirs Army begins to march. LXXXI. The Negotiations renewed by the Queen; first Conference without Success. ---- LXXXII. The Prince's Answer to the Queen. LXXXIII. His Letter to the King of Navarr. LXXXIV. He writes again to the Queen. LXXXV. A Message sent to the Prince. ----- LXXXVI. Both Parties dispose themselves to War. LXXXVII. Strict Discipline of the Prince's Army. LXXXVIII. Negotiations of both Parties in GERMANY and SWITZERLAND. LXXXIX. Conferences for Peace proposed a-new to the Prince; Unfaithfulness of the Catholicks. XC. The Prince marches out of ORLEANS; he is mollified by his Brother of NAVARR, and begins the Conferences. XCI. Navarr's Tricks for deceiving the Prince; how avoided by the Prince. XCII. Rash Propositions of the Prince to the Queen; accepted by her Majesty. XCIII. The Prince's Party dissatisfied; he draws back his Word without Breach to his Honour. XCIV. D'Avila refuted. XCV. Murmurs of the Prince's Army. XCVI. The Prince resolves to surprize the Enemy; he miscarries in the Attempt. XCVII. He re-takes Baugency by Storm. XCVIII. The Triumvirs surprize several Cities; their excessive Cruelties against the Reformed. XCIX. The

C O N T E N T S.

The Prince returns to Orleans. C. How he prevented the General disbanding of his Army. CI. Ways devised in his Council for hindering the Function of the Auxiliaries of Germany, &c. with the Triumvirs. CII. Several Declarations of the Parliament of Paris against the Prince's Party. CIII. The Rbingrave arrives at Court with Auxiliaries. CIV. The Queen writes again to the Prince. The Prince's Answer. CV. A new Decree of the Parliament of Paris. CVI. The King and Queen come to the Triumvirate's Army. CVII. All the Catholics are ordered to depart from Orleans. CVIII. A sad Accident happen'd at Orleans. CIX. The Prince's last Manifesto; but of none effect. CX. A Warrant issued against the Admiral; great Disorders occasioned by it at Paris. Several cruel Murders committed in that City. CXI. The Prince's Army makes several Sallies upon the Enemy by Detachment. CXII. An Account of BOURGES; it is besieg'd; it surrenders by Capitulation; YVOY's Disgrace; the Capitulation not kept. CXIII. Reasons why the Army marched to ROUEN rather than ORLEANS. CXIV. Queen ELIZABETH's Treaty with the Prince of CONDE; that Princess's Manifesto. CXV. Effects of that Treaty. CXVI. The Triumvirate's Army arrives near ROUEN. CXVII. The State and Condition of that City. CXVIII. The said Army besieges the City; they carry CATHERINE's Fort by Treason; the English Fleet arrives; first Assault; a new Summons from the King; second Assault. CXIX. Mr. DE CIVILLE's providential Preservation. CXX. The King of Navarr wounded. CXXI. A new Summons from the King; ROUEN sends some Deputies to the King. CXXII. Conferences without Success.

cess. CXXIII. *A third Assault.* CXXIV. *A fourth Assault; fifth Assault; sixth Assault; the last Assault.* CXXV. *Horrid Desolation of the Inhabitants.* CXXVI. *NAVARR makes his publick Entry into the City; he grows worse and worse of his Wounds.* CXXVII. *His Death.* CXXVIII. *Further Reflections upon his Character.* CXXIX. *Character of JANE Queen of Navarr.* CXXX. *Several Persons tried and executed at Rouën.* CXXXI. *Sapin and Gatines executed by Reprisal at ORLEANS.* CXXXII. *The Court with part of the Army comes back to PARIS.* CXXXIII. *Situation of the Prince's Affairs.* CXXXIV. *Of JAMES SPIFAME Lord of PASSY.* CXXXV. *D'Andelot leads the Auxiliaries to the Prince.* CXXXVI. *The Auxiliaries of Guienne routed by Montluc.* CXXXVII. *The Prince disposes every thing for his March; the Ministers Exhortations to his Highness; the Army marches out of Orleans; and takes several Places in its way.* CXXXVIII. *Debates in the Prince's Council; the worst Opinion followed.* CXXXIX. *He comes near PARIS.* CXL. *The Queen amuses him with new Conferences.* CXLI. *He feigns to have a mind to block up that City.* CXLII. *A new Conference which comes to nothing.* CXLIII. *GENLIS's Desertion very prejudicial to the Prince.* CXLIV. *The Prince leads his Army into BEAUSSE.* CXLV. *The Triumvirs follow him.* CXLVI. *Debates in the Prince's Council.* CXLVII. *The Battle of DREUX; the Marshal of St. Andrew killed; the Prince and the Constable taken Prisoners.* CXLVIII. *Admiral de COLIGNY named Generalissimo of the Prince's Army.* CXLIX. *He leads the said Army to Orleans.* CL. *He goes into NORMANDY; his Exploits in that Province.*

vince. CLI. *The Duke of GUISE besieges ORLEANS.* CLII. *He is wounded by POLTROT, and dies of it; Addition to his Character.* CLIII. *POLTROT taken; interrogated; charges the Admiral, Beza and several others.* CLIV. *He is brought to Paris; varies in his Depositions; he is tried, condemned and executed.* CLV. *The Admiral and others Vindication.* CLVI. *The Queen's Anxiety; she sends a Deputy to the Duke of Wirtemberg; that Prince's Answer.* CLVII. *Negotiations for Peace.* CLVIII. *The Ministers Remonstrances to the Prince.* CLIX. *The Prince concludes a Treaty with the Queen.* CLX. *Edict of Pacification.* CXLI. *The Prince's Army disbanded.* CLXII. *A View of the State of the several Provinces of the Kingdom.* PICARDY, Amiens, Abbeville. Of the Isle of FRANCE, Senlis, Meaux. CHAMPAIGN, Troyes, Bar-sur-Seine, La Charité, Sens, BURGUNDY, Dijon, Mâcon. LYONNESE. Of Baron DES ADRETS. Of DAUPHINE. Of ORANGE. *A short Account of the Princes of Orange.* Of the Lords of Baulx. Of the House of Châlons. *How that Principality came to the House of Nassau, Mornas, Vaureas, Pont of Sorgues.* First Siege of Grenoble; second Siege. Of PROVENCE. Cisterson's first Siege; second Siege: *The Cisteronians Retreat.* Of LANGUEDOC; *Tumult at Thoulouse; King CHARLES IXth's Apology for the Reformed.* Of Marshal Blaise of Montluc. Of Montauban; first Siege; second Siege; third Siege. Limoux, Beaucaire. Rout of St. Giles. Of Nimes. Of Montpellier. *Viret's Letter to the Church of Montpellier.* Of VIVARETZ. Of GUIENNE. Bourdeaux. *The glorious Feats of the two Heroes PILES and RIVIERE.* Of XAIN-

B 4

TONGE.

TONGE, OLERON, St. Jean d'Angely, Saintes. Of ORLEANESE, La Rochelle and County of AULNIX, RE', ALLEVERT, POITOU, ANJOU, LE MAINE, Mans, Tours, BRITANY, NORMANDY. The Conclusion. *What Construction the Queen-Mother did put to the four Letters above mentioned.*



THE

TH E Edict of January last, which had been thought, by the wiser sort of People, to be a remedy for healing the diseases of the Kingdom, had an Effect quite contrary, and through the malignant Humours which eat up that Political Body, it occasion'd greater Mischiefs.

Charles IX.
1562.
Pope Pius IV.

Introduction.

The Execution of this Edict moved great difficulties, especially on the part of the Roman Catholics. As to the Reformed, though many of them complained of being hard dealt with, because they were ordered to go out of the Cities for the performance of their religious Worship, nevertheless their Ministers and Deputies at Paris having cleared their doubt as to this and some other points, and wrote to their respective Provinces upon that account, they submitted themselves to the King's Will.

I.
Great opposition to the Edict.

The Roman Catholics were very far from shewing the like regard for the King's Orders. The Parliaments, two or three excepted, made a long Resistance: That of Dijon refused obstinately to obey, at the Instigation of the Duke of Aumale, Governor of Burgundy, and Brother to the Duke of Guise.

That of Paris could not be prevail'd upon to register and publish it, but after the third Command from the King, and even when they obeyed, at the Instances of the Cardinal of Bourbon, and the Prince of La Roche-sur-yon, it was with this provisional Clause; *That they obeyed only in Consideration of the present juncture of Affairs, without approving the new Religion; and that the said Edict should remain in force no longer than 'till the King should order otherwise (a).*

II.
The Parliament of Paris registers it with some Restrictions.

The

(a) Beza Hist. des Egl. Ref. liv. iv. Thuan. Hist. lib. xxix.

Charles

IX.

1562.

Pope Pius

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The Winds that made them turn, blew from the Constable and the Duke of Guise, and yet they would have done very little or nothing at all, had not the King of Navarr suffered himself at that time to be seduced by his most deadly Enemies, who made use of the *Spanish* Embassador, the Cardinal of *Tournon*, the Pope's Legate, aided by two of his own principal Servants, *Des Cars*, and the *Bishop of Mendes*; they unhappily met with all the Success they wish'd for, to the misfortune of that Prince, and the ruin of the Kingdom.

III.

Conferen-

ces about

the Images.

During these Debates, the Queen-Mother held some Conferences between Montluc Bishop of Valence, Duval Bishop of Seez, Drs. Despence, Bouthelier, and Picherel, and those of our Ministers who were still at Court, at the Head of whom was *Beza*.

The following Propositions were agreed upon by the Bishops and the Divines; That whereas (according to St. *Austin*) Errors were to be plucked out of the Minds of Men, rather than out of the Churches and other Places, the Bishops should labour by the Means of Priests to instruct the People about the right use of Images, so as to take off all occasion of Offence, the King granting an Edict for that Purpose, supported by the Church's Authority; which, whoever should oppose, would be treated as a Disturber of the publick Peace, and Disobedient to his sacred Majesty's Laws.

That the Images of the most Holy Trinity should be taken away from the Churches and other publick Places as forbidden by the Holy Scripture, the Councils and the Ancient Fathers; they having been tolerated only by the Connivance, or rather Carelessness of the Bishops and other Pastors. The same was agreed upon with respect

spect to the Images of those Saints whose Names are not recorded in the Martyrologies receiv'd by the Catholick Church, and the Images drawn in a lascivious Attire, or representing Brutes. That no Crowns, Garlands or Garments should be put on them. That no Frankincense should be burnt, no Tapers lighted before them. That they should not be carried in Procession. That no Vows or Offerings should be made unto them. That they should not be worshipped by bowing to, or kneeling before them, because all these things are parts of Adoration. That Images ought to be removed from the Altars, where the Cross only should remain, and to be affixed in the Walls of the Churches, insomuch, that for the future, they should be out of the People's reach, and not be saluted by them, or otherwise worshipped, either by Kneeling or Kissing, by Vows or Offerings. That, according to a Decree of the Provincial Council of Sens, their Shrines should not be carried about the Streets, nor in the Churches, as it had been usual heretofore.

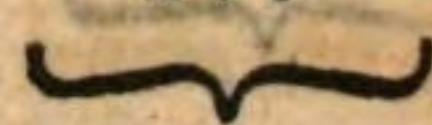
Charles
IX.
1562.
Pope Pius
IV.

Beza, in his own and his Colleagues name, shewed himself ready to subscribe those Articles, that about the Cross excepted; for, says he, that Custom is not of an older date than *Constantine* the Great, whereas the Church had no such use before; and whereas it might prove of a pernicious consequence (as experience sheweth forth) therefore he could not consent to it.

But *Nicholas Maillard*, Dean of the College of Divinity, put an end to all manner of Conferences upon that point, hotly opposing what had been concluded concerning the Use of Images, and stiffly maintaining, that they ought not to abate a Tittle of what the Roman Church had once authorized, though he owned many things to have been introduced by evil Custom.

And

Charles
IX.
1562.
Pope Pius
IV.



And so the Clergy in *Lewis* the XIVth's time, have obstinately adhered to that Maxim, that they would never consent to purchase the return of the Reformed to their Communion at the price of any of the least Abuses tolerated by the Roman Church. So the Conferences ended the 14th of *February* without deciding the Matter (*b*).

IV.
*The Guises
absent
from Court.*

The Cardinal of Lorraine and his Brother the Duke of Guise, had absented from Court ever since the latter end of November 1561. The Duke went to his Seat at Joinville, whither the Cardinal his Brother went to meet him, to consult together about the Measures they were to take in the present Occurrence (*c*).

*They keep
Correspon-
dence with
Spain.*

They kept a strict Correspondence with *Spain*, from whence they expected great Succours; for King Philip, always attentive upon every thing which might help to the gratifying of his Ambition, missed not this Opportunity, to fill up the Princes of Lorraine with great hopes, and to heighten the Jealousies between the Heads of both Parties, in which he was extraordinary well serv'd by his Embassadors at the Court of France, particularly by Chantaunay, the basest and the most impudent Fellow that ever was seen, in such an employment; if the Letters of Queen Catharine to Bochetel Bishop of Rennes Embassador of France at the Emperor's Court, may be credited: They are to be found in the Additions to the *Memoirs of Castelnau* (*d*).

V.
*They made
sure of the
King of
Navarr.*

Besides that, the Guises knew very well they had nothing to fear from the King of *Navarr*; for though, at their Departure from Court he had not as yet openly declared for their Party, nevertheless being

(*b*) Beza ibid. Thuani ibid. (*c*) Thuan. lib. xxviii. (*d*) Addit. aux Mem. de Castelnau, liv. iii. ch. 9. p. 777. Edit. de Bruxelles, 1731.

being continually beset by the Constable, the Marshal of St. Andrew, the Pope's Legate, the Spanish Embassador, and above all by Des Cars and the Bishop of Mendes, his Favourites, they doubted not but that weak Prince would in course fall into the Snares laid for him, and forsake, like the Dog in the Fable, the Reality to run after a Shadow, as he did a little after; for having sent d'Anduze into Spain, and Des Cars to Rome, as soon as he had received an Answer from thence, he began by little and little to withdraw himself from the Reformed, and to abuse his Queen, who was a most wise and virtuous Princess, that used all manner of means to reclaim him, but to no purpose.

Charles IX.
1562.
Pope Pius IV.

Who forsakes by degrees the Reformed.

She was much entreated by the Queen-Mother, to follow her Husband's example and go to Mass; but being stedfast in her Resolution, she answered her Majesty, *That rather than follow that example, if she could hold her Kingdom of*

VI.

The Queen of Navarre's great Courage.

Navarre in one hand, and the Prince her Son in the other, she would fling them both into the Sea, not to be tempted out of her Duty to God. The Queen-Mother seeing that that Princess was not to be moved to any Compliance, spoke no more of it to her. A few Days after she departed from Court with Prince Henry her Son, and Princess Catherine her Daughter, and retired into Bearn; the King her Husband being little or not at all concerned at that Separation, which freed him from a great restraint in his Amours with the fair ROUET a Maid of Honour to the Queen-Mother (e).

VII.

But what perplexed the Guises, was how to find out ways of depriving the Reformed Party in France, of the Succours they could reasonably

The Guises Conferences with the Duke of Wirtemberg.

(e) Beza ibid.

Charles
IX.
1562.
Pope Pius
IV.

ably expect from the Protestant Princes in Germany. For that end, they bethought themselves of this Expedient to create greater Jealousies between the Germans and the Reformed of France, and blind the Eyes of the former: They sent a Messenger to the Duke of Wirtemberg, desiring to have a Meeting with him at Saverne; (*a Town in Alsatia,*) and that he would be pleased to bring along with him some of his best Divines, that they might hear them upon the Augustan Confession.

The Duke of Wirtemberg, judging of others by himself, readily agreed to the Proposition, and came with two of his Divines, *Brentius* and *Andrew* to the appointed place, in full hope of promoting the Interest of his Religion by such a Conference, because of the great Sway which the Cardinal bore in France, he thought that no sooner he would declare himself a Lutheran, but many would follow his Example (*f*).

Their Conferences lasted three days, the Cardinal and his Brother magnified their Good-will towards the said Duke and the Princes of the Empire; the Cardinal set forth the part he had acted in the Conferences of Poissy, and how far he had countenanced the Augustan Confession; and that he had required several times the Reformed to subscribe to it, but without Success, because they sought nothing else but to propagate their pernicious and monstrous Tenets, rather than a thorough Reformation of Doctrine and Discipline in the Church; and that, for no other end than to disturb the Peace of Germany, as they had done in France: That the King of Denmark had been very sensible of it, therefore he

(*f*) Beza *ibid.* Thuan. lib. xxix. Dinothi. Hist Gallica, p. 72.

he had ordered his Ambassador to let the King of Navarr know, that he was very glad to hear that they were about to reform the Religion in France, but was very much concerned lest they should follow Zwinglius or Calvin, rather than Luther, that he had carefully warned of it the said King of Navarr. That the Duke of Wirtemberg and the Princes of Germany who studied the Peace of the Church, and the Welfare of their Country, ought to be afraid of the same, and endeavour to put a stop to the Progress of the Zwinglian Doctrine, as they themselves intended to do in France; and for that end they desired him to afford no help to the Reformed, and to do his endeavours that the Princes of Germany might take their Design in good part.

Charles
IX
1562
Pope Pius
IV.

The Duke of Wirtemberg having considered the Matter with Brentius and Andrew, (great Sticklers for the Augustan Confession, who left no Stone unturn'd to hinder lest the Zwinglian or Calvinian Confession should be received in France) thanked the Cardinal and his Brother for the Good-will they bore to him and the Empire; and said, that he approved of their Design of hindering the Reception of the Helvetick Confession in France, provided withall, THAT IT MIGHT BE DONE, WITHOUT PERSECUTING THOSE WHO HAD RENOUNCED THE ROMAN CHURCH.

The Cardinal preached before the Duke, who was extremely well pleased with it, and as he did not mistrust him, he doubted not but that he would protect the Augustan Confession.

But the Massacre of Vassy, which happened a few days after their parting, as we shall see presently, undeceived the Duke of Wirtemberg, and opened his Eyes upon the Character of the two Lorrain Princes, especially the Cardinals.

Charles
IX.
1562.
Pope Pius
IV.

VIII.
*Their rea-
sons for
taking that
Step.*

Two other Reasons besides that above mentioned, moved them to take that Step. The one, to keep the Queen in awe, under the apprehension of another Party which they might form in the State, if she continu'd to careſs the Reformed ſo much as ſhe did at that time, and to neglect them. She had taken an extraordinary Step, jointly with the King of Navarr (if the Cardinal St. Croix may be credited) for Rambouillet had been ſent to Germany, to know of the Proteſtant Princes, what Succours of Men and Money they could afford whenever the King ſhould change his Religion; and had been answered, that in ſuch a caſe his Maſteſty might depend upon as many Forces, as he ſhould be able to keep on his own Pay. The Spaniſh Ambaſſador hearing of this Step, complained of it to the King of Navarr, who told him that it was impoſſible, that what had been done ſhould not be done, but that for the future they would follow a very different Method (*g*).

The other Reason was, that they might make ſure of ſome Friends, in caſe the King of Navarr ſhould reſuſe to ſide with them; for the Cardinal would not have ſcrupled to declare for the Auguſtan Confeſſion, had he found his Intereſt in it; and this Step may be accounted for one of the cauſes of the great uneaſineſs and apprehenſion which the Court of Rome was under, when ſhe heard that the Cardinal was coming to Trent a few Months after (*b*).

IX.
*They re-
ſolve to
perſecute
the Re-
formed.*

However the two Brothers, having received the agreeable News of the King of Navarr's acceſſion to the Triumvirate, were not over-nice in

(*g*) Dinothus ubi ſupra, Lettres du Cardin. de Ste. Croix au Cardin. Borromée, lett. xi. (*b*) Fra. Paolo Hiſt. du Concile de Trente. liv. vi.

in performing what they had promised to the Duke of Wirtemberg, they resolved to persecute the Reformed with the utmost Rigour, looking upon them as so many Spies, who watched too narrowly their Actions; which Design of theirs, was plainly discovered by the Slaughter of the Reformed at Vassy (j).

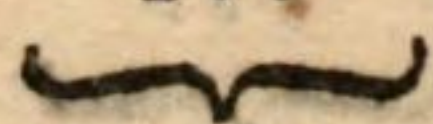
Charles IX.
1562.
Pope Pius IV.

Vassy is a Borough of Champaign not far from the Principality of Joinville, belonging to the Duke of Guise, (and where his Mother Antonia of Bourbon Dowager of Guise resided:) There was in that Town a Reformed Church of about twelve hundred Members, either Inhabitants or others, who resorted thither from the adjacent Places; their Meeting-house was a large Barn, granted to them for that purpose; Mr. Leonard Morel was their Minister (i).

X.
The massacre of Vassy.

Now that Liberty which the Reformed took upon them, of performing publickly their Divine Service, according to the Tenour of the Edict of January, was highly resented by the Catholicks, especially by the Clergy of the place, and above all, by the Duchess Dowager. She had very often under severe Penalties forbid her Vassals and Tenants to go to the Assembly of Vassy, but all her Threatnings were to none, or little purpose; upon which she sent to them the Bishop of Chaalons, (in whose Diocess that Place was) with a Monk of great Repute, in order to suppress that Assembly, by interdicting the Minister. But that Gentleman stood his ground, and being bid by the Bishop to come down from the Pulpit, since no body had a right to teach the People in Religious Matters without his special Licence; he answered, that he could not forsake an Office, which he had received from God, that he desired him to wait till his

Charles
IX.
1562.
Pope Pius
IV.



Sermon was ended, and if he could find any thing in it contrary to the Doctrine of the Scripture, he would readily submit himself to his Censure. As the Bishop's coming in was out of Season, so it was without any Success, for he effected nothing of all that, which he had promised to do.

Being come back to Joinville, he complained that he had been abused by the Reformed of Vassy, and wrote accordingly to the Parliament of Paris; but upon a diligent Inquiry, nothing of what the Bishop complained of could be made out; and notwithstanding all the Threatnings of the Dukes, the Reformed went on thinking themselves very secure under the Protection of the said Edict; but that Princess thinking herself scorned by their Behaviour, was exasperated to the last degree, and resolved to be severely revenged (*l*).

Therefore the Duke her Son was no sooner arrived from Alsatia, but she intreated him to destroy those People, whom she styled Contempts of God, and Enemies to the Christian Religion: Her Hatred against them was much increased by the indiscreet Zeal of some, who, unable to do worse, vented their Resentment by opprobrious Names, which they gave her and her Sons (*m*). But let us hear Thuanus upon this Event.

„ The Duke, says he, incited by the urgent
„ Intreaties, and importunate Complaints of Antonia of Bourbon, Dowager of Guise his
„ Mother———who being much addicted to
„ the Religion of her Ancestors, could not bear
„ the too near Vicinity of the Reformed Meeting at Vassy, and upbraided her Son for his
„ Patience, by which the Divine Majesty was
„ offended, and his own Reputation lessened.
„ Therefore

(*l*) Beza ibid.

(*m*) Dinoth. lib. 2. p. 73, 74.

Charles
IX.
1562.
Pope Pius
IV.

„ Therefore the Duke set out for Vassy the first
„ of March, with a great Retinue, and his Brother
„ Lewis Cardinal of Guise, with La Brosse and
„ his Son, rather WITH INTENTION
„ (*pray observe this*) TO DISSOLVE
„ these Conventicles by his Presence, than to
„ hurt any body. As he came near the Town,
„ he heard the Bell ringing at an unusual Hour,
„ and asked what was the matter? He was told,
„ that it was to call together the Protestants
„ to Church; then a loud but confused Voice
„ was heard amongst the Pages and Scullions,
„ wantoning, as if they had been going to a
„ certain Victory and Prey; nevertheless the
„ Duke went on, and being entered the Town,
„ to receive there 60 light-armed Men of
„ his Company, he was met on the Market-
„ place, by the Provost, the Curate, and the
„ Prior, who desired him earnestly to turn from
„ the strait Road to Esclaron, where he was
„ to dine, and go through the Place where the
„ Protestants were assembled.

„ Mean while, many of his Attendants, (*ob-
„ serve this*) INCENSED EITHER
„ BY THEIR HATRED, OR BY
„ THEIR GREEDINESS AF-
„ TER BOOTY, and some out of Cu-
„ riosity, were gone before; who begun the
„ Work by outrageous Names, calling the Peo-
„ ple assembled there, Dogs, Rebels to God and
„ to the King. As the Protestants retorted,
„ from Words they came to Blows, and the
„ Pages threw a shower of Stones; then seve-
„ ral of the Duke's Attendants alighted off their
„ Horses, and having broke open the Doors of
„ the Place, which was a large Barn, and had
„ been shut up at the first Tumult by those
„ who were within, they rushed in by main

Charles
IX.
1562
Pope Pius
IV.



Strength, and struck with their naked Swords
as many as came in their way, few of them
making Resistance. Nothing was to be
heard but the doleful Lamentations of Wo-
men, Children, and all the poor Wretches
begging for Mercy, but in vain, and the
Shrieks of those who ran up and down, look-
ing for a way to come out; many, who en-
deavoured to save themselves through the
Roof, were annoyed by the continual casting
of Stones, and firing from without. The
Noise was such, that it was heard by Anne
D'Eft the Duke's Consort, that went before
in a Litter by the shortest Way. That Prin-
cesses **SUSPECTING WHAT HAD
HAPPENED**, (and being of a meek
Temper, and not averse to the Protestants,
as it was rumoured; at least she had learned
of the Duchess of Ferrara her Mother, to
hate them not) sent immediately a Messenger
to the Duke, beseeching him to spare the
Lives of so many Wretches. The Messen-
ger met the Duke before the Barn-Doors,
whither he had hastened to quell the Tumult;
but having been slightly wounded in the
Cheek with a Stone, his Attendants seeing
the Blood on his Face, (either out of Indig-
nation, or having found the Pretence which
they waited for,) they fell a killing, and
could not be restrained from it, (tho' the
Duke commanded them with a loud Voice to
forbear from it, adding Threatnings to his
Intreaties) 'till the Multitude being split out,
some by the Door, but the greatest part by
the Roof, the Fury intirely ceased. Sixty
Men or Women lost their Lives in that Tu-
mult, some murther'd upon the spot, and
others dying the same day or the next, of
their

„ their Wounds ; more than two hundred
 „ were wounded : Leonard Morel their Mi-
 „ nister (tho' sorely wounded in many places)
 „ was put in the Custody of a Soldier, and
 „ then sent Prisoner to St. Dizier ; the Pews
 „ and Pulpit were broken, the French Bible
 „ torn to pieces, and some Houses in the Neigh-
 „ bourhood plundered. Tho' this happened o-
 „ therwise than he had thought, and ordered,
 „ nevertheless to disculp himself and his At-
 „ tendants, the Duke ordered several of the
 „ chief Prisoners to be brought before him, and
 „ bitterly chided them, for having given occa-
 „ sion to that Tumult by their unlawful Af-
 „ semblies ; particularly, he severely reprimand-
 „ ed the Steward of Mary Queen of Scots, (who
 „ had the Enjoyment of the Use and Profit of
 „ Vassy and of the Bassigny) for granting Li-
 „ cence to such factious People of meeting to-
 „ gether ; and in the mean while, he took care to
 „ get Affidavits of the Fact drawn up and cer-
 „ tified by Men DEVOTED TO HIM,
 „ by which they certified that the Protestants
 „ had been the Aggressors (n) ”.

Charles
IX.
1562.
Pope Pius
IV.

This is the Account, which Thuanus gives us
 of that horrid Tragedy. Now whoever knows
 that noble Historian's Character, his great Abi-
 lities, his Integrity and shining Virtues, lastly,
 the high Post which he enjoyed, will readily
 own that as he was in a Condition by his high
 Station, to be thoroughly informed of every
 thing material which concerned the Kingdom of
 France, during his whole Life-time, so he was
 too honest and sincere to impose *willingly* upon
 his Reader.

XI.
*The Duke
of Guise
Author and
Abettor of
it.*

Now he tells us three Things which are plain
 proof, that the Duke was very far from being as

*Proved by
some Consi-
derations
upon mat-
ters of
Fact*

C 3

innocent

(n) Thuani Hist. lib. xxix. p. 78.

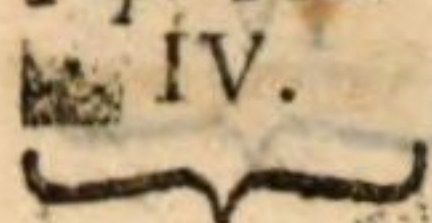
Charles

IX.

1562.

Pope Pius

IV.



innocent of the Blood spilt at Vassy, as he would make the World believe to the end of his Life.

I. According to Thuanus, the Duke at the Instigation of his Mother came to Vassy with an intent of dissolving by his Presence the Reformed Conventicles in that place, rather than for doing any injury to any private man amongst them. (*Vassiacum venit, eâ mente, ut præsentia sua POTIUS conventicula illa dissiparet, QUAM ut cuicumque privatim injuriam inferret.*) What can be the meaning of this? but that the Duke intended not to make use of any violent means, if by fair ones, he could succeed in his Attempt?

II. According to the same Author, the Duke's Pages, Servants, Scullions, &c. were overjoy'd when they heard that the Reformed were actually assembled for their Devotion at Vassy: But why so? had they not heard before, their Master's Threatnings against the Reformed? How could they be so eager after Booty, had they not been put in some hopes of gratifying their Greediness?

III. How could the Duchess his Consort guess at what was doing at Vassy, when she heard the noise at some distance from the Place, had she not had some notice (underhand or otherwise) of what had been hatched at Joinville against the Reformed Inhabitants of the former Place? I have translated Thuanus's words, *præter opinionem & voluntatem*, by, *otherwise than he had thought and ordered*, rather, than against his opinion and will; because, methinks, this would not answer the true meaning of the Historian: for he tells us from the beginning, that *the Duke did set out of Joinville with a full intent of dissolving by his presence the Conventicle* of

of Vassy. But could he expect to compass his end without any resistance? Was he ignorant of the number of the Reformed resorting to Vassy? that is not probable; he could not but expect to have a struggle before he could accomplish his Design. But may be, he expected that his Attendants would proceed more orderly; and being disappointed in that expectation, Thuanus expresses himself very properly, when he says, that, That had happened otherwise than he had thought and ordered, *præter opinionem & voluntatem.*

Charles IX.
1562.
Pope Pius IV.

It is true, Thuanus was not nine years old in the time we are speaking of, but he was Son to Christophle Thuanus first President in the Parliament of Paris, by whom he had learned many Facts and Anecdotes which are not to be found elsewhere but in his History. Therefore what Beza, Dinoth, and other Historians contemporary to this Event have related, and has been confirmed by this great Man, must be certainly true.

If it is so, the Jesuits of Trevoux (o) might have saved much trouble, had they not undertook to clear the Duke of Guise, as to any premeditated design against the Reformed, when he came to Vassy. They quote for their Vouchers, 1st, All the Catholick Historians: (but they ought to have excepted Thuanus out of the Number.) 2dly, Two of the Reformed Historians, La Popeliniere, and D'Aubigné. As to the first I have nothing to say, because I have not his History in hand; but if I can presume to judge of the advantage they pretend to draw from his Testimony by that which they pretend to draw from D'Aubigné, I must infer, that they have

XII.
The Jesuits of Trevoux misreason when they vindicate the said Duke.

C 4

mis-

(o) Remarques Crit. sur le Diction. de Bayle, Tom. III.
Art. François Duc de Guise.

Charles
IX.1562.
Pope Pius
IV.

misrepresented La Popelinier, as much as D'Aubigné; let us see what Account this last Historian gives us of that tragical event.

„ For that end, says he, (speaking of the
„ Triumvirs and their new Adherent's design,
„ to break openly the Edict of January) they
„ hastned the Duke of Guise, who going
„ thro' Vassy, with the Cardinal his Brother,
„ and all their Retinue, found the Reformed as-
„ sembled, who few days before had received
„ the Sacrament, to the number of three thou-
„ sand at the same place; the Monks led the
„ Scullions (Laquais) to provoke them; after
„ the Scullions, the Mob seeing themselves
„ strengthened by Horse and Foot, (*which were*
„ *with the Duke*) grew hot. The Bishop of
„ Chaalons had been there some days before to
„ convert them by Disputations, and was come
„ back with shame, having rendered himself ri-
„ diculous, either for his ignorance or other-
„ wise. This Prelate incensed the Duke of
„ Guise; and the Cardinal of Guise incensed the
„ young La Brosse; who went thither with two
„ Companies of Gendarmes, ordering the
„ Charge to be sounded by three Trumpets, and
„ altogether cut to pieces those who could not
„ escape, either by the Barn-Windows, or by
„ the Town-Walls. The Priests were very di-
„ ligent in shewing the Soldiers all those who
„ endeavoured to make their escape through the
„ Roofs of the Houses. The Princes and the
„ Ladies are charged with the same.

„ I leave to the Histories, written on purpose,
„ to describe and give an Account of all the
„ Tragical Acts of that day; for my part, I shall
„ say only this, that more than three hundred
„ people murdered on this occasion, afforded to
„ the one the first example of murdering with

„ im-

„ impunity, and to the others of expecting no
„ mercy at all (p).

Charles
IX.

1562.

Pope Pius
IV.

Now let every sober and judicious Reader judge, whether D'Aubigné's account justifies the Duke as to the Fact, which he stands charged with? And, whether referring himself to what other Historians had said, his Silence upon the Duke's intention when he came to Vassy, is not a tacit consent to what they have related? Futhermore, if D'Aubigné is to be credited, we may see how far we may depend upon La Popeliniere's relation, since he charges him with having been bribed for to prevaricate. *A Slavery* (says he in his Preface) *with which I upbraided the Author himself to his face, and he owned the fact with tears in his Eyes*: If that is so, who can assure us that La Popeliniere had not received a Bribe for to prevaricate on the Subject in hand (q).

To proceed, the Trevousian Fathers insist much upon the Duke's Testimony, who constantly denied even on his Death-bed, that he had ever had any hand in the Massacre of Vassy. But as long as they could not produce any Proof of that Lord's Sincerity, sufficient for to destroy those which we may afford of his disingenuity, when he thought that a plain confession of truth might hurt his Reputation or Interest, the reasons alledged by Bayle to invalidate such a Denial, remain in their full force. Now the Historians of both Parties tell us, that the Duke denied to the Prince of Condé, before all the Court under Francis II. that he had any hand in the charge laid against his Highness. He denied likewise under Charles IX. that he had had no hand in the imprisonment and prosecution of the said Prince; and nevertheless he was Complice in the Plot laid against the King of Navarr

(p) D'Aubigné Hist. Univ. Tom. I. liv. iii. ch. i. (q) Idem, sa pref. p. 4.

Charles

IX.

1562.

Pope Pius

IV.



Navarr to murder him in the King's Chamber, while the Prince of Condé was Prisoner, and he vented out his Indignation against his Master, by very disrespectful words, because the King very likely abhorring even the thoughts of so base and barbarous an Action, disappointed them in their expectation, as we have seen in the 1 Vol. Book II. Page 327. Now what trust can we put in a Man of such a Character, let his Affelevation be ever so constant and positive?

Furthermore, those learned Fathers infer from the Condemnation of the Reformed of Vassy by the King's Council and the Parliament of Paris, that they were guilty of being the Aggressors, and that the Duke was innocent. Thuanus has already warned us, that the Information about the Fact was drawn by People entirely DEVOTED TO THE DUKE'S INTEREST, amongst whom Beza names La Brosse one of the Murderers, Le Sain Provost of the Place, one of their most fiery prosecutors, &c. Now, because the Jesuits were sensible that we may with good reason challenge such an Information, Judgment and Condemnation, as being drawn and given by Persons entirely devoted to the Duke, who was the Soul of the King's Council, and who had such a majority of Votes at his devotion in the Parliament, that he obtained whatever he pleased, they exclaim against such a Challenge and say, *That the Fact would have been so enormous, and so notorious, had it happened as the Huguenots published it, that by no means it could have been palliated.* It is true, such a Fact was so enormous and so notorious, that it ought not to have been palliated, much less justified by the King's Council, or the Parliament; but it happened otherwise, and the very same Fathers, who make here such an Acknow-

Charles
IX.
1562.
Pope Pius
IV.

knowledgment, are so little sensible of the enormity of that Fact, that a few Pages after, reflecting upon what Bayle said, (r) *That had the Duke owned the Fact, he would have declared himself the first cause of the misfortunes which befell the Kingdom, and would have been the object of the Publick Execration*; they observe, that these last Words, **PUBLICK EXECRATION**, are a manner of speaking, which imposes scarce but upon those of the same Party. Nothing more usual in all what we call Books or Speeches of Parties, than for the Authors, to imagine themselves, that they have all the World, all honest Men, all wise and sober Men, learned, discreet, judicious, equitable, in a word, all that we call the Publick on their side. They make no account of what is in the contrary party. It is in that sense we must take here Bayle's expression, when he speaks of the **PUBLICK EXECRATION**. It is very certain, (pray observe this) that most part of the Catholicks had no sooner heard only in general, and without knowing the particulars of the Fact, that the Duke had done, going through Vassy, an execution against the Huguenots, but they had a greater Esteem and Attachment for that Lord. And for that very reason, he was received in a kind of Triumph, when he arrived at Paris, every one crying, **LONG LIFE TO GUISE**, &c. That is very certain, &c. But if this is very certain, as I make no doubt of it, how can this behaviour of the Catholicks towards the Duke of Guise, even before they were acquainted with the particulars of the Vassiacan transaction, agree with that Horror for the fact which the King's Council and the Parliament of Paris would have been stricken with, had that Transaction proved to be such as the Huguenots represented

(r) See Bayle's Diction. Art. Francis Duke of Guise.

Charles
IX.
1562.
Pope Pius
IV.

presented it? How this Assertion of the learned Jesuits can agree with the former, let the good Fathers answer for themselves, and make agree the best they can their manifest Contradictions.

Furthermore, they give themselves much trouble to prove that the Reformed Historians have contradicted one another in their relation of the Fact; but after a thorough examination, it evidently appears that there is none: but one has reckoned only those who were killed upon the Spot, while another reckons those who died of their Wounds the same day, or the days ensuing; one relates a Circumstance which had been either unknown, or forgotten or neglected by another. Is that a Contradiction?

The Reverend Fathers of Trevoux are much mistaken in the account they give us of D'Avila, for if he was not born at this time we are speaking of, if he wrote only seventy years after this Event, as they say in two places, that is in the year 1632, he must have been a good Officer in the Service of France at nine years old; for he lived but 59 years; and he was in King Henry III's Service, in 1582. He must have been just born when the Turks conquered the Island of Cyprus, which was in 1573; but his Biographer tells us, (s) that their Tyrannical Government forced D'Avila to fly with his Family into Spain, from whence having not met with that encouragement which he expected from his relation, he came into France. Therefore I reckon him amongst the Historians contemporaries to the Massacre of Vassy. Mean while I am entirely of the Learned Critick's opinion, that supposing with D'Avila, (t) that the Duke had really uttered these Words, speaking to the Judge

(s) Baudouin vie de D'Avila, at the head of his Hist.
(a) D'Avila Hist. des Guerres Civiles, liv. iii. p. 83.

Judge of Vassy in a fit of Passion when the execution was over, **THE EDGE OF THIS,** (clapping his Hand upon his Sword) **WILL SOON CUT ASUNDER THAT** Charles IX. 1562. Pope Pius IV. **EDICT,** *viz.* of January, their meaning can be only that he intended to do all his endeavours to have that Edict repealed; they cannot be an Indication of his having premeditated the Massacre of Vassy, already perpetrated when the words were uttered. But I don't understand well the meaning of the learned Criticks when they say, not only, that no body hath charged the Duke with the words just mentioned; but also that no body hath charged him with the fact which is in question. Pray what fact do they mean? For if it is of the Massacre, the Prince of Condé charged him directly with it in one of his Manifestos, which I shall translate in its proper place (*v*). But if it is of what D'Avila relates, they are in the right; for I have not seen it any where else but in that Historian, and those who have transcribed it out of him. I own likewise that Varillas was not a proper Author to quote for proving the charge against the Duke; he has written above one hundred years after; and since the most material part of his Evidence which concerns the Duchess Dowager's entreaties and the Duke of Guise's compliance, is extracted out of Thuanus, Bayle methinks would have done better, had he quoted that noble Historian rather than Varillas.

But I am sorry to see the learned Criticks above named, undertaking the defence of so odious a Cause, and asserting it by Arguments no less

(*v*) Spifame Lord of Passy charged him likewise with it five or six months after, in his Speech to the Emperor and all the Princes of the Empire assembled at Francfort.

Charles

IX.

1562.

Pope Pius

IV.



less, if not more odious than the fact it self, and from judicious Criticks becoming Calumniators; as it is very clear by the opprobrious names they bestow, especially upon Beza, calling him Hypocrite, Wolf, Lyar, &c. which names he has never deserved, as many sincere and equitable Authors even amongst the Catholicks do acknowledge. And likewise when they affirm, *That ALL the Catholicks were convinced that the true and first cause of the troubles in France, was the new Religion which they endeavoured to introduce; its Professors obstinacy, and THE ATTEMPTS MADE, ARMS IN HAND, AGAINST THE CATHOLICKS, BEFORE THE PRETENDED MASSACRE OF VASSY.* But let them give a single Instance of any like attempt. It is true, in the Cities where the Reformed were the strongest, they kept themselves upon their Guard, and acted defensively; but the Jesuits will never be able to prove that the Reformed have been the Aggressors before the Massacre of Vassy. They go farther, and they say with great Confidence, *It is UNQUESTIONABLE that the HUGUENOTS had obtained the Edict of January with Force in HAND.* That is utterly false, as it appears by Castelnau's Memoirs, and by Thuanus, both Catholicks; the Reformed, tho' they were in such great Number at Paris, had no other Forces, nor Arms in the Month of January, but what the Queen-Mother, and the King of Navarr had allowed to them, for to defend themselves against the Insults of the Catholicks, who used to assault them whenever they met them going to their Assemblies; and we shall see presently, how little they were prepared, when the first Civil War broke out.

I have thought my self indispensably obliged to insist so much upon that affair of Vassy, which occasioned the first Civil Commotions, or rather hastned them, that the Reader might be the better enabled to judge who were the Aggressors, the Reformed or the Catholicks? and be upon his Guard against the Jesuits, who either by their Cavils, or even by downright Lyes, endeavour to obscure the most evident Truth, to blast the Reputation of the best Men, and to falsify the most conspicuous Testimonies. Let us take again the thread of our Narration.

Charles
IX.
Pope Pius
IV.
1562.

The news of that Tragedy being soon spread abroad, People talk'd of it according as they stood affected for one or for the other Party : Some fretted at it and complained, that it had been done against all right and equity ; for, said they, to what purpose have the Edicts been granted, by which all manner of Penalties against the Reformed have been suspended, if, what is forbidden to the Magistrate, is allowed to any private Man, if he is at liberty to gratify his hatred against them? Others, on the contrary, said it was well done, to strike a Terror in the minds of those People, who not being satisfy'd with their present condition, went every day farther than they were allowed, for to increase their advantages ; that by such means the Licentiousness of few being restrained, the Generality should be kept in the bounds of their Duty.

XIII.
*How the
news of
that Tra-
gedy was
received
in France.*

But the wiser sort, without entring into the merit of the Cause, nor judging whether it was right or wrong, thought that such an Act could not but give birth to Seditions, and incite the Seditious throughout the Kingdom to take up Arms (u).

However,

(u) Thuani ubi supra, Memoires de Castelnau, liv. iii. ch. 7.

Charles
IX.
1562
Pope Pius
IV.

XIV.
*The Duke
comes to
Nanteuil.*

However, after that fine Exploit, the Duke taking his way through Rheims, where the Cardinal of Lorraine stayed for him, came to Nanteuil, whither a vast number of Friends and Adherents flock'd for to welcome him; the Constable sent likewise a Message to him upon the same Errand, as also to know his Mind upon the present Posture of Affairs, and what was to be done.

The Court was gone by this time to Monceaux, whither the Prince repaired for to make his Complaints to the King, and require that Justice should be done against the Infringers of the Edict, and the Disturbers of the publick Peace; and that the Duke of Guise should be forbidden to come to Paris, for fear of a Sedition.

XV.
*The Queen's
Orders to
the Duke
and the
Marshal of
St. An-
drew.
How re-
ceived by
them.*

The Queen, very well acquainted with the Duke and the Cardinal of Lorraine's Temper, was in a great perplexity to know what course to take. She wrote to the said Duke, intreating him to come directly to Court with a small Retinue, without going to Paris. But the Duke sent her word, *That being too busy for receiving his Friends, he had no time as yet for waiting upon the King* (x). The Marshal of St. Andrew's Answer was still more haughty and disrespectful, considering that it came from such a Man; the Queen bid him to repair immediately to his Government of Lyonnesse, and to take care that the King's Edict should be strictly kept. But he told her Majesty, *That in the present juncture of Affairs, it was his Duty not to part from the King's Presence* (y).

XVI.
*The Re-
formed sent
a Deputa-
tion to
Court.*

Many of the Reformed Nobility and Gentry of the Kingdom, having heard of the Massacre, met the Prince at Paris. They consulted together

• (x) Thuani ibid.

(y) Idem, ibid.

ther upon what was to be done ; and after some Debates, they resolved to send a Deputation to the King, to complain of their Enemies Violence, and require that they should be brought to a condign Punishment ; Barbier de Francourt was deputed for the Nobility, and Beza for the Churches.

Charles IX.
1652.
Pope Pius IV.

They met with a most gracious Reception from the Queen, who told them, *That when she should be thoroughly informed of the Facts, she would give them so reasonable a Satisfaction, that they would have no Occasion for Complaints, provided withal, that they should live peaceably ; that she had earnestly intreated the Duke by her Letters not to come at present to Paris, and was in hope that he would comply.*

XVII.

How received by the Queen.

But the King of Navarr received them frowningly ; he bitterly inveigh'd against all the Reformed in general, for, says he, *they go to their Assemblies in Arms, contrary to the King's Edicts.* He obstinately affirmed, that those of Vassy had been the Aggressors, having assaulted the Duke of Guise's Servants with Stones ; adding that, *the Duke was not a Man who could bear with such Indignities.*

XVIII.

How received by the King of Navarr.

At this Beza replied, *that if it was so, the Duke might have had justice done against those who in such a vile manner had offended against his Person and Dignity, but that he ought not to have suffered his own Servants and Attendants to do themselves Justice.*

XIX.

Beza's reply to the said King.

Then he added, SIR, *It is most true that it behoves the Church of God (in whose Name I speak) to endure, rather than to give Blows, for she serves unto Christ under the Cross, and yields her Neck to the Persecutors. But may it please your Majesty to remember, that she is AN AN-*

Charles
IX.
1652.
Pope Pius
IV.

VIL THAT HATH ALREADY BROKEN MANY HAMMERS.

The Deputies made short with the said King, seeing his Dispositions quite altered, and that he bore no good-will to the Reformed, they came back to Paris (z).

From that time, the State of France may be well compared with the Sea that begins to rise by degrees, 'till it rages in every place, for in every Province great and strange Commotions and Seditions began to rise, and lasted in several of them till Henry the IVth's Reign.

XX. *The Duke's publick Entry at Paris.* Now the Duke of Guise, without any regard for the King's Orders came to Paris, attended by the Constable, the Duke of Aumale, and the Marshal of St. Andrew; he affected to come into the City through St. Denis's Gate as in a Triumph, whereas his shortest Way coming from Nanteuil, was to enter by St. Martin's Gate. He was met by William Marle de Versigni, Provost of the Merchants, and the Sheriffs, and was received by the People with Transports of Joy, and the greatest Marks of Love, Zeal, Respect and Duty, and with great Shoutings of *Long Life to Guise*, just as if he had been the King (a).

XXI. *The Reformed of Paris intreat the Prince to protect them.* Nothing could be more unpleasant to the Prince of Condé, than that Reception the Duke met with, nor of worse Omen to the Reformed, who had every thing to fear from the Catholics, whose Number was much greater than theirs. Therefore they intreated his Highness to receive them under his Protection, and to undertake their Defence; that it was a Thing honest and just, to defend the Innocent under the Authority of the King's Edicts, that those could

(z) Beza liv. vi. p. 1, 2, 3. Dinoth. lib. ii. p. 75, 76.
Thuan. lib. 29 p. 80. (a) Thuan. ibid.

could not be deem'd Traitors or Rebels, who endeavoured to preserve the Privileges granted to them by their King against the Violence of the Tyrants.

Charles
IX.
1652
Pope Pius
IV.

The Prince promised them his Protection, and was so much the more encouraged to it, that he receiv'd several Messages one upon another from the Queen-Mother Regent, whereby she intreated him to undertake speedily the Defence of the Kingdom, and of the Mother and the Children, meaning the King, his Brethren and Sister (b).

Which he
promises to
do.

And in truth, that Princess was vexed to the heart, when she heard that without any regard to her Orders, (or rather Intreaties) the Duke was come to Paris, and had met with such a Reception from the Citizens. She was much more perplexed, when she considered, that after such a Step, the Duke would very likely stick to nothing, but that he would improve so fair an Opportunity of making himself Master of the Government, and for that end seize upon the King and her own Person. For avoiding the threatening Danger, she thought that her best Course was, to cast herself and the King into the Prince of Condé's Arms ; therefore she wrote to him the four following Letters, which for very good Reasons, I do transcribe here Word for Word (c).

XXII.
The Queen
Mother's
Perplexity.

THE FIRST LETTER.

My Cousin,

I HAVE heard by the Baron de la Garde what you have told him, of which, my

XXIII.
Four of her
Letters to
Cousin, the Prince
of Condé.

D 2

(b) Thuan. ubi supr. (c) Beza liv. vi. p. 50, 51. they are likewise to be found in Agricola (Le Laboureur) Additions aux Memoires de Castelnau, liv. 3. ch. 8.

Cousin, I have been and am so sure, that I do not take more assurance on my self: and that I shall never forget what you shall do for the King my Son and my self. And because he (the Baron) goes back for the occasion he will tell you, I shall not make a long Letter, only I desire you to give a full Credit to whatever he shall tell you, from one to which you may trust, and on which you may depend, as if she was your own Mother, and who is your good Cousin,

CATHARINA.

The Superscription was, To my Cousin the Prince of Condé: and it was dated as the three others from Monceaux.

THE SECOND LETTER.

My Cousin,

I Have spoken with Ivoy as freely as if it was with your self, trusting my self on his Fidelity, and that he shall speak to no body but to your self, and that you will never betray my Secrets; and that you will remember only to preserve the Children and the Mother, and the Kingdom, as one who has so great an Interest in them, and who may depend upon it, that it will never be forgotten. BURN THIS LETTER IMMEDIATELY AFTER THE READING OF IT.

Your good Cousin,

CATHARINA.

The Superscription, To my Cousin, Mr. Le Prince of Condé.

THE THIRD LETTER.

My Cousin,

I Thank you for the trouble you are at, for letting me hear of you so often, and since I hope to see you very soon, I shall not make a longer Letter; I desire you only to be sure that I will never forget what you do for my sake; and if I die

die before I should be able to show you my gratitude as much as I am willing to do it, I shall give a memorandum of it to my Children, I have charged this bearer with something to tell you. I desire you to believe him; and sure I am that you will know, that whatever I do, it is to restore every thing in peace and quietness; I know that you wish for it as much as your good Cousin,

Charles
IX.
1562.
Pope Pius
IV.

CATHARINA.

The Supercription as the former.

THE FOURTH LETTER.

My Cousin,

I See so many things displeasing unto me, that if it was not for the trust I put in God, and the dependance I have on you, that you will help me to preserve this Kingdom, and the King my Son's Service, in spite of those who seek only to overthrow every thing, I would be still more sorry than I am: But I hope that we shall remedy every thing by your good Counsel and Aid; and because I have told my Opinion of it at large to the Bearer of this Letter, therefore I shall not repeat it here; I desire ye to believe whatever he will tell you, from your Good Cousin,

CATHARINA.

The Supercription is the same.

We shall say in its proper place what Construction the Queen put upon these Letters, when she stood no more in need of the Prince of Condé, or durst not speak her real Sentiments, much less own them.

XXIV.

However they worked upon the Prince, and prevailed so far with him, that he thought in earnest

*They have
their Ef-
fect upon
the Prince.*

Charles IX. 1562. Pope Pius IV. earnest to put himself in a condition of withstanding the Triumvirate's efforts, and be beforehand with them.

But several things obstructed his good Intentions, especially the Want of Money, and the Irresolutions, and long Delays of the Admiral.

XXV. *He desires Money of the Parisians Reformed, and is refused.* To supply his want of Money, he desired the Reformed of Paris to lend him ten thousand Crowns. But, who will believe it! he was refused, either out of parcimony, or because they flatter'd themselves that matters would be adjusted without a War, or because they would not be deemed the first Authors of the Civil War, (many there were who ascribed the true reason of their denial to their niggardliness.) However in six days time the Prince could get no more than sixteen hundred Crowns raised amongst twenty thousand Reformed at the least, of each Sex and Condition then at Paris. But such a parcimony, join'd with a kind of duncery, cost them very dear afterwards; for at the very beginning of the War, they were turned out of their Houses, several lost their Lives, and all of them lost their Goods and Riches. The wiser sort wondered at such a piece of Stupidity, seeing that few days before they had begged for the Prince's Protection, and now they were so blinded, as to think they could save their Goods and Riches, and chose to trust the Prince with their Lives, rather than with their Money (*d*).

XXVI. *The Triumvirs sent a Deputation to the Queen.* Two or three days after the Duke's Entry at Paris, it was thought proper by the Triumvirs, to send to the Queen the Provost of the Merchants, and one of the Sheriffs, to remonstrate to her Majesty, the danger which the City was in, because the Prince was in it with many Atten-

(*d*) All that paragraph is taken out of Beza, liv. vi. p. 4. and Dinoth. lib. ii. p. 76, 77.

Attendants, and to intreat her to bring over immediately the King to Paris; and whereas the Prince had so many Men in Arms, they besought her Majesty to restore to the Citizens their Arms, which, by the Duke of Montmorency their Governor's orders, had been lodged in the Town-house.

Charles
IX.
1562.
Pope Pius
IV.

The Queen, without denying the first point, put it only to another time; but as to the second; by the advice of the Chancellor she granted it: for she foresaw that tho' she should deny it, they would take their Arms against her will (c).

XXVII.
*The
Queen's
Answer.*

From thence the Court came to Fontainebleau, there to consult more at ease about the course she ought to take; for she was not as yet resolved whether she should go to Orleans, where the Prince and the Admiral promis'd her a safe retreat; or repair to Paris, having strengthened the King's and her own Authority against the Triumvirs (f).

Mean while the King of Navarr was gone to Paris at the Triumvirate's instances, they held every day a Cabinet Council, which they were pleased to term THE KING'S COUNCIL, without admitting into it the Prince of Condé. He endeavoured to persuade the said Prince to avoid Paris, but being not able to prevail upon him, he wrote to the Queen, desiring her Majesty to send positive Orders to the Prince upon that Subject; she comply'd, and the better to succeed, she sent the Cardinal of Bourbon, who came at last to this agreement with the Prince, that for his honour's sake, the Duke of Guise should depart the City at the same time, that he (the Prince) should do the same by another gate. The Duke having agreed to this, the Prince set out

XXVIII.
*The King
of Navarr
goes to
Paris.*

*And the
Prince goes
out of it.*

D 4

with

(e) Thuani ibid. (f) Idem ibid.

Charles
IX.

1562.

Pope Pius
IV.

with his Retinue and Attendants, to the number of nine hundred or a thousand Horse, intending to go to Fontainbleau; but as he was upon the Road the Queen sent him orders not to come to Court; so he went to Meaux. He was no sooner gone out of Paris, but (by the Duke's direction) a Garison of fifteen hundred Men strong was received into it, for to keep the Gates and other Passages, and oppose the Entrance of the Prince, in case he had a mind to come back (g).

XXIX.
*The Duke
of Guise
comes to
Fontain-
bleau.*

The Duke of Guise had neither the same discretion nor the same modesty as the Prince; indeed he set out from Paris, as he had promised, but it was for to go directly to Fontainbleau, with the King of Navarr, the Constable and St. Andrew, with a great Retinue and Troops, to make a Show of his Superiority, and to keep the Queen in awe (h).

The King of Navarr and St. Andrew having undertook in vain to persuade the Queen to come to Paris, where she and her Children would be more safe (as they said); at last, after many debates, (the Triumvirs having got intelligence, that the Prince, at the Queen's instances, was ready to come and invest the Court) they boldly attempted to force the Queen into a Compliance.

XXX.
*The Tri-
umvirs
bring for-
cibly the
King and
Queen to
Paris.*

For that end (by the Duke's direction) the King of Navarr told her Majesty, that because of his rank, being the first Prince of the Blood, he could not consent, that the King should stay any longer in such a place, therefore he desired her to work upon his Majesty, that he would consent to his removal to Paris (i). That is Castelnau's account of that Transaction; but Thuanus,

(g) Thuani ibid. Mem. de Cast. liv. iii. ch. 8. Beze liv. vi. (h) Idem ubi supra. (i) Castelnau Ibidem.

Thuanus adds, that as the Queen stagger'd, and the Triumvirs being sensible of the danger they were in of being surprized by the Prince of Condé, if he came at that nick of time, because the Chancellor would not fail to persuade the Queen to cast her self and the King her Son into that Prince's Arms, the Duke of Guise with a bold stroke cut asunder the knot, advising the King of Navarr (whose nature he turned at his pleasure) to tell the Queen IMPERIOUSLY, that knowing for certain that his Brother of Condé was coming on purpose to seize upon the King and her self, he was resolved to carry the King in all haste to Paris; that as to her self, she might stay, or follow him, just as she pleased. Navarr obeyed exactly, and without giving her Majesty any further time for consulting, he ordered the Baggage to be got ready, and they came that day to Melun, the Queen being obliged to follow. The King, by the Triumvirate's orders, was lodged in the Castle, wherein nobody had inhabited for a long while, except the Keeper and some Prisoners; they set Guards every where with a strict charge to watch narrowly; for they were under great apprehensions lest the Queen should steal the King away in the Night-time.

Here again her Majesty spent the whole night in consultations with her most trusty Counsellors; she had secretly got a Boat ready, to the end, that if it was thought proper, they might deceive their Guards and make their Escape.

The next day the Queen promis'd every thing to the Triumvirs, in hopes that by that means she might obtain liberty of coming back with the King to Fontainbleau.—But the Duke of Guise, who knew her perfectly well, frustrated her expectation; he let her know by the King of Na-

Charles
IX.
1562.
Pope Pius
IV.

Charles
IX.
1562.
Pope Pius
IV.



Navarr, that they must proceed without any further delay to Paris, producing a Letter from the Provost, who gave him notice, that unless the King should come in haste, the City was in great danger. Therefore on the same day, the King, Queen-Mother and the Duke of Orleans, were brought to the Castle of Vincennes, about a mile from Paris; the Queen bore a doleful Countenance, not able to refrain from Tears; and the young King crying like a Child, as if they had been both led into Captivity. The Constable went before; and on the Evening he arrived at Paris (i).

*The Constable's
Violences against
the Reformed.*

The next day very early in the Morning the said Constable riding through the City with a Troop of Gendarmes, he arrested one Ruzé Advocate in the Parliament, and sent him to Jail, because he had been too free in the Assembly of the General States against those of the Nobility, who had had heretofore the Management of Affairs.

Then he proceeded, as in Battle-array, to a place called the Temple of Jerusalem, out of St. James's gate, where the Reformed used to resort; there he made a heap of the Pulpit and Pews, and set fire to them, to the great Joy of the Assistants, who made loud and repeated huzzas. From thence he came back triumphantly into the City, and after dinner he went to Popincourt, another place out of St. Anthony's gate where the Reformed resorted, and did the same there as he had done to the other in the morning; but the fire took to the adjacent Houses, and burnt them to the ground; then he came back with the same Pomp and the same Acclamations of the Mob through the Streets, where he passed, as if he had got a great Victory over the

(i) Thuani lib. xxix. p. 81, 82.

the Enemies of the State. But many looked with indignation upon such a proceeding, and could not bear to see the first Officer of the Army stooping so low, in order to ingratiate himself with such a vile Mob. By such Exploits he exposed himself to the Scorn of the wisest, and amongst many Nick-names bestowed upon him, he got that of CAPTAIN BURNING-PEWS (k).

Charles
IX.
1562.
Pope Pius
IV.

This Example increased the Licentiousness of the Mob, they assaulted in the Streets the most topping ones of the Reformed, and many were very ill treated on account of their Religion. The next day the Triumvirs brought the King, the Queen-Mother, and the Duke of Orleans to the Louvre, as if they had not been safe enough out of the City, or rather because they thought that they were not enough at their Discretion.

XXXII.
The Licentiousness of the Mob increased by that Example.

Then they deliberated in the Council, whether they should declare War against the Prince of Condé and his Adherents. The Chancellor opposed the Proposition with all his might; for which cause, the Constable insisted that he should be excluded from the Councils of War. The Chancellor told him, that truly he understood not the method of Fighting, but that he, and those like him knew very well, whether and when the War was necessary. But for all that, the Violence of the Confederates prevailing, he was excluded.

XXXIII.
The Triumvirs resolve upon a War against the Prince.

They then admitted into the King's Council, Gouffier Marquess of Boissy, Honorat of Savoy Count of Villars, both nearly related to the Constable; Lewis Provost de Sansac, and (at the Recommendation of the King of Navarr) the two Gentlemen who had so dexterously managed their

XXXIV.
Great Changes in the King's Council.

(k) Beza lib. vi. p. 12. Thuani ibid. p. 82.

Charles

IX.

1562

Pope Pius

IV.

XXXV.
D'Aubig-
né's Ac-
count for
the Admi-
ral's De-
lays.

their Master to do such a fine piece of work, viz. Des Cars and Lenoncourt Bishop of Auxerre (1).

Now tho' the Prince of Condé had wrote to the Admiral, desiring him to repair to Paris, with as many Attendants as he could find, whom he might depend upon, nevertheless that Lord could not be prevailed at first to stir, and by his Delays, he occasioned the loss of a very fair Opportunity of getting the upper hand of the Triumvirs. Let us hear D'Aubigné's Account of this, he relates some Particulars which I found no where else but in his History.

„ Several Lords, *says he*, being come to visit
„ the Admiral at Chatillon upon the Loin, in
„ order to press him to join himself with the
„ Prince; that old Captain found the Passage
„ of that Rubicon so dangerous, that after ha-
„ ving debated the matter for two days with
„ them, and cooled their Heats by several learn-
„ ed and specious Arguments, he brought them
„ over to his Opinion, and there was scarce
„ any hope left that he could be moved to
„ enter upon Action; when it happened that
„ one night, two hours after he was a-bed, he
„ was awakened by his Lady's Sighings and
„ Sobblings; he asked her what was the matter,
„ and she answered to the following purpose,
„ *That it was with regret that she dis-*
„ *turbed him from his Sleep by her Sighings, but*
„ *seeing that the Members of Christ were torn*
„ *to pieces, and that they were of the same body*
„ *with her, she could not be insensible to it. I*
„ *know, Sir, that you have no less sensibility*
„ *than others, but you have more strength for*
„ *concealing it; shall you take it amiss, that your*
„ *faithful Consort should with more Liberty than*
„ *Respect, shed her Complaints and Tears into*
„ *your*

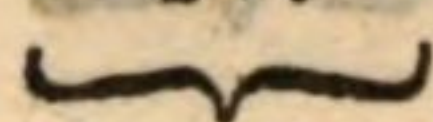
(1) Id. ibid.

„ your Bosom? We lie here softly, while our
 „ Brethren's Bodies, who are flesh of our flesh and
 „ bones of our bones, are some of them in Dun-
 „ geons, and others lying in the open Fields at
 „ the mercy of the Dogs and Crows: This Bed
 „ is a Tomb for me, since they are not buried;
 „ can we sleep at rest without hearing our Bre-
 „ thren's last groanings? Repeat as much as you
 „ please those fine Speeches, with which you con-
 „ fute your Brethren's * Arguments, and put
 „ them to a non-plus; but have you a mind to
 „ dishearten them likewise? I'm much afraid,
 „ lest such a wisdom be nothing better than a
 „ worldly wisdom, and that to be so wise after
 „ Men should not be to be wise after God, who
 „ has bestowed upon you the talents requisite to be
 „ an excellent Captain? Can you in good Con-
 „ science refuse to employ them in behalf of the
 „ Children of God? You have own'd to me, that
 „ sometimes that Conscience awakens you out of
 „ your Sleep; It is God's Truckman: Are you
 „ afraid to become guilty before God in following
 „ its Dictates? The Knight's Sword which you
 „ bear, is it destined to oppress the distressed, or
 „ to deliver them from the claws of the Ty-
 „ rants? You did own the Justice of their Arms
 „ since they were forced to come to that Extremity.
 „ Could you renounce the love of Justice and
 „ Equity, for fear of the Event? Has not God
 „ deprived of their Senses and Judgment those
 „ who resisted unto him, under Pretence of sparing
 „ the Blood? He knows how to preserve the Life
 „ of those who are willing to lose it for his Ser-
 „ vice, and how to destroy those, who for Saving
 „ it disobey him: Sir, so much Blood already shed
 „ sticks to my Heart: That Blood and your Spouse
 „ crieth above unto God from the Ground, and
 „ in

Charles
IX.
1562.
Pope Pius
IV.

* D'Andelot and the Cardinal of Chatillon.

Charles
IX.
1562.
Pope Pius
IV.



„ in this Bed against you, it declares that you
„ shall be the Murderer of all those which you do
„ not preserve from being murdered.

The Admiral answered, „ That since his Ar-
„ guments against the Vanity of popular Commo-
„ tions ; the uncertainties attending a Party not
„ formed as yet ; the difficult beginnings, not against
„ the Monarchy, but against the Possessors of a State
„ already confirmed in their Usurpations ; so many
„ People concerned in their preservation ; no War
„ abroad, but a general Peace made of late ;
„ and what was worse, made on purpose with
„ Neighbours conspiring to our ruin ; since
„ the desertion of the King of Navarr, and of
„ the Constable ; so great strength on the Ene-
„ mies side ; so great weakness of ours ; since all
„ those Considerations are not able to convince you,
„ put your hand upon your bosom, try your constan-
„ cy ; look how you shall bear with a general Over-
„ throw, with the scorn of your Enemies, and even
„ of your own Party ; the Reproaches of the Peo-
„ ple that judge commonly of things by the Event ;
„ the Treasons of your own ; your Flight ; your
„ Exile in foreign Countries ; the abusive Lan-
„ guage and Manners of the English ; the Quar-
„ rels of the German ; your own Shame, Nakedness,
„ Hunger ; and what is worse, that of your own
„ Children ; furthermore, try whether you can
„ bear to die by the common Hangman's hands,
„ after having seen your Husband dragged and ex-
„ posed to a publick Ignominy ; lastly, your Chil-
„ dren degraded and made to serve as Scullions to
„ your Enemies, increased by the War, and trium-
„ phing over your own misfortunes. I give you
„ three Weeks for to consider, and when you shall
„ have strengthened your self against such acci-
„ dents, I will go to perish with you and our
„ Friends.

To

To this she replied, *That those three Weeks*
 „ *were at end: You will never be vanquish'd by your*
 „ *Enemies Virtue; make use of your own, and do*
 „ *not charge your self with the Murders that shall*
 „ *be committed during these three weeks, I beg in*
 „ *the name of God, do not deceive us any longer,*
 „ *or else I shall witness against you in the Doom's-*
 „ *Day.*

Charles
IX.
1562.
Pope Pius
IV.

„ The Admiral could not withstand his La-
 „ dy's Eloquence, he set out for to meet the
 „ Prince at Meaux. There were many De-
 „ bates to know how they ought to begin;
 „ some regretted the loss of Paris, and compa-
 „ red the Prince's going out of it, to that of
 „ Pompey when he left Rome. But they were
 „ answered, that the King of Navarr having
 „ deserted their Party, and the Mob being
 „ grown insolent and furious, there was no
 „ means left of withstanding them. Others
 „ were of opinion, that they ought to make
 „ themselves Masters of the King's Person,
 „ (for he was as yet at Fontainbleau) but
 „ that was thought by others too odious and
 „ uncertain. Others were for engaging the E-
 „ lector Palatine to send his Forces to their
 „ Assistance, but that opinion was rejected.

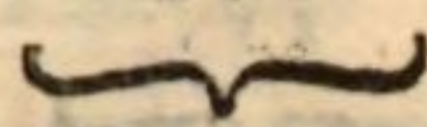
„ At last they resolved to seize upon some
 „ Cities, and to begin by Orleans, where the
 „ Reformed had the Majority (m).”

Accordingly the Prince sent D'Andelot to that
 City to prepare every thing, and to dispose
 the Inhabitants for the Reception of his High-
 ness; and that Lord entered into it in Disguise.
 Monterud Lieutenant to the Prince of La
 Roche-sur-Yon, Governor of the City, com-
 manded in it in his absence. That Gentleman,
 knowing not as yet what Party the Queen Re-
 gent

XXXVI.
The Prince
sent D'An-
delot to Or-
leans.

(m) D'Aubigné Hist. Univ. Tom. I. lib. iii. ch. 2.

Charles
IX.
1562.
Pope Pius
IV.



gent would take, countenanced the Reformed, and made use of them indifferently with Catholics for the City-Guard. But when he heard that the King had been brought to Paris, and that the Queen was with the Triumvirs, he took immediately another course, and as he got Intelligence that something was hatching within the City, he let in secretly the Company of Cypierre, hoping by their means to be the strongest.

XXXVII.

*The Prince
sets out
from
Meaux.*

The Prince set out from Meaux, at the head of fifteen hundred Horse, the twenty ninth of March, after having received the Sacrament; and understanding that the Court was removed from Fontainebleau, he passed in sight of Paris, at which the Inhabitants were much alarmed. The Cardinal of Bourbon his Brother, sent him word, that he hoped he would not begin the Hostilities, nor undertake any thing against the City. He answered that it was not his Intention, provided they should give him a free Passage through the Bridge of St. Clou; and that being granted, the Prince received there a Reinforcement of three hundred Horse, and two hundred more between Estampes and Angerville.

XXXVIII

*His Enemies amuse
him upon
the Road.*

At Angerville, the Prince received the second day of April, very early in the Morning, several Letters from the King and Queen, desiring him not to proceed any farther, and that they would come to an Agreement. But this was only a Device of the Guises to get time, amuse the Prince, and hinder him from going to Orleans; for while they desired his Highness not to proceed, they dispatched in all speed Mons. D'Etrées, Great Master of the Artillery of France, to seize upon that City; which being understood by the said Prince, after having lost three hours on that account, and having received

ceived an Exprefs from D'Andelot, who let him know, that without being immediately relieved, they could not withftand any longer, and would be entirely cut to pieces by their Enemies; the Van of the Prince began to run full Gallop, and the reft followed without any order, which afforded good fport to the travellers who went the fame road, feeing fuch a vaft number of horfemen running with fuch fpeed, fome tumbling off their horfes, others lofing their hats, caps, coats and casks, they took them for mad-men or drunkards, and laughed heartily at them (*n*). The Van arrived at the very nick of time, at the Gate of St. John, which was forced immediately, and with the help of fuch reinforcement, it was eafy for D'Andelot to get the better of his Enemies.

Charles IX.
1562.
Pope Pius IV.

XXXIX.
Orleans
surprised
by D'Andelot.

The Prince arrived at the fame time, and made his Entry into the City the fecond of April about eleven before noon, amidft the acclamations of the People, who fung the 124th Pfalm. When he was alighted, Monterud came to pay his duties to him, but at the fame time he asked leave to retire, which was eafily granted to him, tho' the Prince offered to protect him in his Government as far as the King's Service could allow it. Then the Magiftrates came in a body for to welcome his Highnefs, in the mean time for to befeech him to provide for the fafety and welfare of the City under the King's obedience, and not to take amifs if they fent notice to his Majesty of his arrival, and of what had happened.

XL.
The Prince's
Entry into
it.

The Prince answered, that far from intending any thing to the detriment of the City, or to raife any commotion in the Kingdom; nothing but the fervice of his Majesty had moved him

VOL. II.

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to

(*n*) Thuan. lib. xxix. p. 83. Beza liv. vi. p. 7—10.

Charles
IX.
1562.
Pope Pius
IV.



XIXXX
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to come to Orleans, desiring them to exert themselves in their respective Offices, to hinder lest any commotion should arise in the City, and to cause that the Edict of January, which had been published only the day before at Orleans, should be religiously kept; as for the rest, he would send likewise notice of every thing to his Majesty (o).

Last of all came the Great Master of the Artillery, as the Prince was ready to sit down to Dinner. As this Gentleman was arrived too late at Orleans to execute his Commission, he went back the same day, with Letters of the Prince to the Queen, wherein he accounted for his coming into Orleans, and declared what he intended to do.

XLI.
*The Princess of
Condé as-
saulted on
the Road.*

The Princess of Condé sat out from Meaux the same day as the Prince, intending to lie in at Muret, one of the Prince's houses; she took along with her the Marquess de Conty her eldest Son, and a very small retinue; but as she went through a Village called Vaudray, she met with a procession, and because none of her Servants pulled off their Hats, the Priest incensed the Peasants, who, without any regard to the Quality of the Princess, nor the Condition she was in, assaulted her in her Litter with Stones. Her Highness was so much frightned, that she fell in Labour at a Village called Gandlee, and was delivered before her time (for she was but seven months gone) of two Princes; from thence she went to Muret, where she stayed till the Civil-War broke out, then she came to Orleans with the Marquess of Conty her Son, who was about nine years of age (p).

The

(o) Beza liv. vi. p. 10, 11. Thuan. ibid.

vi. p. 11. Thuan. ibid.

(p) Beza liv.

The Countess Dowager of Roye, Mother-in-Law to the Prince, went to Strasburg with Francis second Son to the Prince, the two Twins, and Mademoiselle de Bourbon his Daughter, there she stayed 'till the Edict of Peace in 1563.

Charles IX.
1562.
Pope Pius IV.

At Paris, the Reformed continued their Assemblies. The Provost seeing that nothing could deter them from meeting together for their religious Worship, sent, by advice of the Constable, some Rakes to the place where they resorted, who fell upon them as they came from their Assemblies, and wounded many of them (q).

XLII.
The Dowager of Roye retires to Strasbourg.

The outrages, which the Parisian Mob made to the Reformed of that place with impunity, increased every day, and when these last came for to make their Complaints of it to the Constable, they were sent back with opprobrious language. The Ministers were forced to retire into Orleans, where they were safely conducted by their friends. The Mob exasperated at it, ran almost mad, they went and pillaged their houses, and were so ridiculous as to carry the Slippers of Mr. Malo, one of the Ministers, in a procession upon a Pitch-fork ; they were particularly exasperated against him, because he had been formerly a Vicar of the Parish of St. Andrew des Arcs (r).

XLIII.
Violences against the Reformed at Paris,

Before we proceed any further, let us make some particular Remarks on the Transactions of the three last month's, since the Edict was granted on the seventeenth of January, 'till the coming of the Prince into Orleans, by which we may be enabled to judge who was the first Author of the Civil War, either the Prince, or the Triumvirate.

XLIV.
Some general Considerations on the past Transactions.

I. It cannot be denied that, before the Cardinal of Richelieu's Ministry, whenever the

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Crown

(q) Beza ibid.

(r) Beza liv. vi. p. 13.

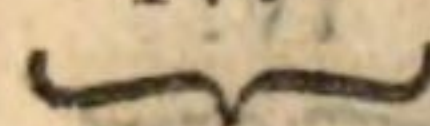
Charles

IX.

1562.

Pope Pius

IV.



Crown of France was devolved to a Prince who was not of age for governing by himself, the General States were convoked for settling the Administration of the Government during the King's Minority, and that such a settlement ordered by the General States, was looked upon as a standing law, to be in force and inviolably kept during the said Minority, and 'till the King was proclaimed to be of age with the usual Ceremonies; that is matter of fact, which does not require any further proof. Now because the General States which had been summoned at Orleans by Francis II. had not as yet began their Sessions when he died, after some debates, it was agreed they should open their Sessions; but the circumstances of the times obliged the Court to adjourn them 'till May next at Pontoise; so they separated without having done scarce any thing else of moment, besides the ascribing of the Regency to the Queen-Mother, and the general Lieutenancy of the Kingdom to the King of Navarr. But being assembled again according to their Adjournment, they agreed upon these four Articles.

First, They confirmed the Regency to the Queen-Mother, and the General Lieutenancy of the Kingdom to the King of Navarr.

Secondly, They excluded from the King's Council, all Cardinals, Bishops, Abbots, and generally all Ecclesiastical Persons, because of their oath to the Pope. Two Brothers could not be admitted into it: and they excluded likewise those who had enjoyed the Superintendency of the Finances under the former Reign, 'till they had given an account of their Administration; and those who had received large donations contrary to the Ordinances, 'till they had made restitution of the same. This concerned especially the

BOOK IV. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.*

53

the Cardinal of Lorrain, the Duke of Guise, the Marshal of St. Andrew, &c.

Charles
IX.

1562.

Pope Pius
IV.

Thirdly, The said Estates did reserve to themselves, the power of making War and arming the King's Subjects during his Minority, because to them belonged the cognizance of the reasons for declaring War, whether they were just or unjust, &c.

Fourthly, As to Religion, they ordered that none for his Religion's sake should be condemned as seditious and a rebel, but it should be lawful for his Majesty's Subjects, to chuse what of the two Religions, the Catholick or the Reformed they should like the better; all manner of Violence, publick or private, was strictly forbidden both to the Catholicks and the Reformed, one against another. And the Governors and Magistrates in the several Provinces of the Kingdom, were ordered to allow Temples to the Reformed for their religious Worship, whither they might resort freely, and from whence they might come back without any molestation, all Edicts heretofore given to the contrary, being made void*.

That Resolution taken at the General States, serv'd as a basis to the Edict of January, granted by the Notables, that is by a select number of Presidents and Counsellors of all the Parliaments of the Kingdom, besides the King's Council, and several of the Nobility.

But tho' that very Assembly had been summoned by the Guise's advice, nevertheless, as the second and the fourth Articles agreed to by the General States, (which lieth heavy upon their hearts, more especially the second) could not be repealed, they resolved to revenge themselves

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at

* See Britain's Speech, &c. in the first vol. of this Hist. Book III. Art. 47. especially pag. 465.

Charles

IX.

1562.

Pope Pius

IV.

at any rate, of those whom they looked upon as their Enemies, I mean the Reformed (s).

II. It must be acknowledged, that Princes and Magistrates have a Natural Right of granting to their Subjects what privileges they think proper, for settling peace and tranquillity amongst them, (provided those grants be not of such a nature, that they subvert the very fundamental Constitution of the Government) when it is evident that it cannot be settled by any other Method. That being granted, it follows of course, that Charles IX. or his Tutors, had a right of granting to his Subjects of the Reformed Religion the Edict of January, unless it should be proved, that such Edict subverted the very Constitution of the Kingdom; but in order to prove that the said Edict was contrary to the fundamental Constitution of the Government, it is requisite to prove, that the State of Religion was the same in France as to the Doctrine, Discipline and Worship, in the times of Clovis, as in the times of Francis II. and Charles IX. That the Worshipping of Images, Transubstantiation, the Communion under one Species only, the Service in an unknown Tongue, Corpus Christi day, Purgatory such as it is believed now in the Roman Church, and other such like Stuff that have been imposed upon the people; and were, as they are now received, believed and practised in France in the Sixteenth Century, were likewise received, believed and practised in France in the fifth Century, and made any part of the fundamental Constitution of the Government, inasmuch that the Kings of France were bound by their Coronation-Oath to keep them unviolable; no such thing can be made out. It is true the Kings

(s) See Spifame's Speech to the Diet of Francfort, in the Additions to the Mem. of Castelnau, Book iv. ch. 3.

Kings of France are obliged to protect the Church, and maintain the Religion which had been derived unto them from Clovis; and we desire no better, than that it pleases his most Christian Majesty to perform such an engagement: for that end, he is obliged to restore the Religion upon the same footing as it was in Clovis's days, and protect those who undertake to restore the Church of God into the lustre and splendor which she enjoyed in those days. Now if any sincere Man will be at the trouble of comparing the Doctrine, Worship and Discipline of the Reformed, with the Doctrine, Worship and Discipline of the first Century, he shall find that they are infinitely more agreeable one with another, especially in the most essential points; than is the Doctrine, Worship and Discipline of the Roman Church of these days. Therefore the granting the Edict of January was very agreeable to the fundamental Constitution of the Realm; it was nothing else but to approve the Christian Religion, as it was taught and profess'd in France in Clovis's time.

Charles
IX.
1562.
Pope Pius
IV.

III. Whereas that Edict had been granted by the free Consent of the great Lords, and most Notable Men in the Kingdom after full and mature Considerations, and without being constrained to do it by any superior force, except that of *SALUS POPULI*, it ought to be kept religiously, at least till the King should have been at age, and had maturely and freely debated in his Council; whether it was proper to keep it any longer, or to repeal it.

IV. Is not a Subject bound to submit himself to the King's Edicts, tho' he has not consented to the framing and publishing of them; nay, tho' they have been framed and published against his private inclination and opinion? Can he infringe

Charles

IX.

1562.

Pope Pius

IV.



them under any pretence soever, without rendering himself guilty of high Treason, and incurring the deserved Punishment? Now the Duke of Guise and the Cardinal of Lorrain his Brother had consented; nay, they had advised the Queen to hold the said Assembly of the Notables, in hopes that their resolution would turn to their account, and over-rule that of the General States; but having not a full certainty of succeeding when they left the Court, they thought that it was prudent to have more than one string for their bow; for that end, they entred into Confederacies with foreign Princes, some of them mortal Enemies to the Kingdom; and having made themselves sure of the King of Navarr, they undertook to deprive the Reformed of the benefit of the King's Edicts. They assaulted, without provocation, those of Vassy, assembled without arms, as not expecting such a visit; they murdered part of them and wounded many others, though they were assembled according to the terms of the Edict, if Castelnau and Thuanus are to be credited; (and this I observe against the Jesuits of Trevoux, who with a ridiculous sophistry have undertaken to prove that they did not conform themselves to the said Edict). Then without any regard to the Queen Regent's repeated orders, or rather prayers, and against the King's will, they enter'd into the Capital more like Kings than Subjects, amidst the acclamations of the People, and at the head of fifteen hundred men, there they settled a Council in opposition to the King's Council, without calling into it one of the first Princes of the Blood, they forc'd the said Prince to go out from Paris, they garison'd that City with 1500 Men, they went in a bravado to Fontainbleau, they forc'd the King against his will to come to Paris, that they might execute

execute more easily their wicked and pernicious designs under his Royal Name and Authority?

Charles IX.

1562.

Pope Pius IV.

Now, who are the Rebels? who the Aggressors, and Authors of the first Civil War? Let the Jesuits display their Rhetorick to prove, that to infringe in the most violent manner the King's Edicts, to seize upon his Royal Person and carry him whither he has no mind to go, to disturb the publick tranquillity, and turn every thing topsy-turvy, in order to gratify their Passions and private Interest, it is to be a good Patriot, and a faithful Subject to the King? No, every sober man will think to the contrary, that he is only a true Patriot and faithful Subject, who endeavours to procure the peace and tranquillity of the Kingdom by a due observation of the King's Edicts. Consequently the Prince of Condé and his Adherents acted the part of good Patriots and faithful Subjects, when they put themselves in a condition to oppose the tyrannical Government of their Enemies.

V. Vassy was not the only place where the Reformed were most inhumanly massacred by their Enemies, before the Civil War broke out; at Cahors, Sens, Auxerre and Tours, the Catholics murdered in the most cruel manner about 1200 of them. At Tours three hundred Reformed were shut up in their Church in the Suburbs, for three days together, without eating or drinking; then they were tied two by two, and brought near the River there to be murdered in different manner, more barbarous one than another; the Children were sold at a Crown a piece. A young Woman of great beauty, being brought to the slaughter, he who brought her was moved to pity, but another snatched her out of his hands, and stript her stark naked, and after hav-

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Charles
IX.
1562.
Pope Pius
IV.



ing gratified his brutish appetite, he murdered her. A Woman having miscarried as she was murdered, the Child was seen floating upon the River with his right hand lifted up. The President of Tours was tyed to two Willows, and being alive he had his Belly ripp'd up, thinking they should find some Gold in his Bowels. Besides those four places mentioned; the same Cruelties were used against the Reformed at Aurillac, Nemours, Grenade, Carcassone, Villeneuve d'Avignon, Marfillargues, Senlis, Amiens, Abbeville, Meaux, Châlons, Troye, Bar-sur-Seine, Espernai, Nevers, Chatillon-sur-Loire, Gien, Moulins, Issoudun, Le Mans, Angers, Cran, Blois, Mer and Poitiers, as already said in Vol. I. pag. 625. To which I may add Rouen and some other places; but with this difference, the massacres in the places already mentioned occasioned the first Civil War; and this War was the occasion of the others*.

Now could the Prince of Condé and the Reformed Lords of his Party see so much innocent Blood every day spilt, even against the King's Will, Edicts and Declarations, without taking their defence, especially being in a condition to protect them? And as the Admiral's Lady rightly observed, would they not have been accountable to God for all that Blood unjustly spilt, when they could hinder it? Nevertheless, had the Massacre of Vassy not happened, the Prince and his Adherents would have been obliged to forsake the Realm and lose their All, because they never thought upon their defence before that time, much less to attack; the Edict of January, and the Queen's promises tying up their hands. But when the Reformed Lords and Gentlemen dispersed throughout the Kingdom, had

* D'Aubigné liv. iii. ch. 1.

had once heard of that cruel exploit perpetrated by the Duke of Guise, they came to the Prince's Assistance.

Charles IX.

1562.,

Pope Pius IV.

Amongst those who came with or after the Prince to Orleans, there were the Admiral, D'An- delot, of whom I have already spoken, the Prince of Porcian, the Count of La Rochefou- cault, the Viscount of Rohan, the Count of Gram- mont, the Count of Montgommery, the Lords of Soubise, of Mouy St. Phale, d'Esternay, and Genlis; of whom, to oblige the Reader, I shall give here in few words, the following account, extracted out of Le Laboureur's Additions to the Memoirs of Castelnau (t).

XLV.
Of the
Lords ad-
hering to
the Prince.

Anthony of Croy Prince of Porcian, tho' re- lated to the House of Lorraine, was one of the greatest Opposers to the designs of the Guises; he was one of the greatest Captains in his time, and joined with the Prince of Condé, who lov'd him entirely because of his amiable qualities; his Con- sort Catherine of Cleves Countess of Eu was Neice to the Prince of Condé, the Sister where- of, Margaret of Bourbon, had married Francis of Cleves Duke of Nevers; the Prince of Por- cian died at Paris in the year 1564. It is said that his hatred against Henry Duke of Guise, Son of Francis, went so far, that suspecting his Consort to have some affection for him, he in- treated her not to marry him; *You are young, says he unto her, you are fair, and you are rich, all these qualifications put together, with that of an illustrious Extraction, will make you courted by many. I consent that you should marry again, I leave to you the choice, but of all the Kingdom, I challenge only a single Man, and that is the Duke of Guise, he is the Man whom I hate the most; and I beg as a favour of you, that my greatest*

XLVI.
Of the
Prince of
Porcian.

Enemy

(t) Liv. iii. ch. 8.

Charles
IX.
1562.
Pope
Pius IV.

Enemy should not inherit what has been the most dear to me in my Life-time. Nevertheless six or seven years after, she married the said Duke.

XLVII.
*Of the
Count of
La Roche-
foucault.*

Francis Count of La Rochefoucault Prince of Marcillac was the greatest Man not only by his birth and dignity of all Guienn, but likewise the richest and most potent in Poitou, he could make an Army of his Relations, Friends and Vassals; he signaliz'd himself in the defence of Metz, where he commanded 100 light Horse; then at the Battle of St. Quintin, where he fought at the head of the Company of Gendarmes belonging to the Duke of Lorraine of which he was Lieutenant. He was taken prisoner of war, and paid a hundred thousand Livres for his ransom. Being returned to Court, he took part against the House of Guise, embraced the Reformed Religion, and follow'd the Prince of Condé his Brother-in-law, by his second Wife Charlotta of Roye Countess of Roucy, younger Sister to the Princess of Condé, whom he married in 1557. He was an old experienced Officer, valiant, courteous, generous, and of a very agreeable conversation, much beloved by Henry II. and Charles IX. and inhumanly murdered in the massacre of Bartholomew's day, as we shall say hereafter.

XLVIII.
*Of the
Viscount of
Rohan.*

René Viscount of Rohan and of Leon, Count of Porrhoët, Son of René Viscount of Rohan, and Elizabeth of Albret, Daughter to John Lord of Albret, and to Catharina Queen of Navarr, and Countess of Foix, &c. was Cousin-german to Jane of Albret Queen of Navarr, Wife of Anthony. By her means he was instructed in the Reformed Religion, of which he made an open Profession; that Queen made him her Lieutenant-General in all the Countries belonging to her,

her, during the Minority of Prince Henry her Son, afterwards King of France, and whom he served with an inviolable Fidelity; of his marriage with Catharine of Partenay Lady of Soubise, he got Henry Duke of Rohan, Peer of France, Prince of Leon, &c. who has been the most accomplished Hero of his age.

Charles IX.
1562.
Pope Pius IV.

Anthony Count of Grammont and of Guiche helped much the Prince's Party, he was in great Esteem amongst them, as much on account of his valour, as for his credit; he had particularly signalized himself at the taking of Calais and of the Bolonois; he led at Orleans six thousand Gascoons, all of them old and brave Soldiers, as much as can be, who had served in the former Wars and had retired into their Houses since the Peace: He was related to the Prince of Condé, the Constable of Montmorency and the Admiral de Châtillon by his Lady Helena of Clermont, Sister by the Mother's side to Francis of Vendôme Vidame of Chartres; he followed the same Party against the House of Guise; he embraced the Reformed Religion, and was one of the chief of the Reformed in the Civil Wars.

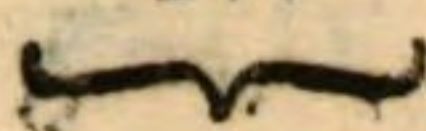
XLIX.
Of the Count of Grammont.

Gabriel Count of Montgommery was no less considered; he supplied by his valour, prudence and sagacity, the want of power and credit necessary to support the interest of his party after the death of the Prince of Condé, of the Admiral, and several other great Captains. He had had the misfortune to kill King Henry II. in a Tourney, and had been obliged since that time, to absent from Court, not to be exposed to the vengeance of Queen Catharina. After twelve years of continual fatigues, having acquired a great name, he was taken prisoner of war at Domfront, brought to Paris, where Queen Catharina, to gratify her Revenge, caused him, under many false

L.
Of the Count of Montgommery.

Charles
IX.

1562.

Pope Pius
IV.

false pretences, to be most cruelly tortured and then beheaded ; nothing could be laid to his charge, but that he had not been penitent enough for having killed the King, tho' accidentally, and that he had not kept the Treaty of Ortez, made with the Lords of Terride, of St. Colombe and Favas, the Baron of Pordiac and some others who had surrendered themselves to him upon his word, as we shall say in its proper place.

LI.
*Of the
Lord of
Soubise.*

John Archbishop Lord of Soubise, Knight of the King's Orders, was the last of the most illustrious House of Partenay in Poitou, whose name was extinct in the person of Catharina of Partenay his Daughter, Wife of René Viscount of Rohan, and Mother to Henry Duke of Rohan. It is said that the Surname of Archbishop was taken by the Lords of Partenay, because they were descended from William, who first took that Surname in the year 1100, because he was Son to Josselin of Partenay Archbishop of Bourdeaux ; and that William having six Brethren all named De Partenay, for distinction sake he took the Surname of Archbishop, that is, Son of the Archbishop ; which being so, it affords us a strong and convincing argument, that the celibacy of the Priests, was not as yet observed, at least in the Gallican Church, at the beginning of the twelfth Century ; but let this be said en passant.

This John Lord of Soubise was a great Captain, he commanded in chief the Army in Tuscany for Henry II. and was very active, diligent and prudent in the discharge of his Duties, having been instructed in the Reformed Doctrine at the Court of the Duke of Ferrara, when Renea of France, Daughter to Lewis XII. and Wife to the said Duke, kindly entertained the Ministers

of the Reformed Religion, and embraced their Doctrine. Being returned into France, he employed himself with great Zeal in the propagation of that Doctrine, and even Queen Catharina was like to have been his Profelyte. As the Civil War broke out, the Prince of Condé sent him to command at Lyons, and he fully answered his Highness's expectations. He was charged by Poltrot of being accessory to the murder of the Duke of Guise, but the most impartial Historians amongst the Catholicks have fully discharged him, as we shall see in its proper place. He died in 1566, being about 54 years of age.

Charles
IX.
1562.
Pope Pius
IV.

Lewis of Vaudray known in the History by the name of Lord of Mouy St. Phale, was one of the greatest Heroes of his time, and one of the most considerable of the Reformed Party; it is he that made the first charge at the battle of Dreux; it is he that led the Duke of Deux-Ponts with his Army throughout France into Guienn, in the very sight of the King's Armies, and took by the way, the important place of La Charité, notwithstanding so many obstacles he met with, and made many other Exploits, which we shall have occasion to speak of in the sequel of this History; he was murdered by treason in 1569, by one Morevel a Gentleman of Brie, the same that wounded the Admiral de Coligny at Paris in 1572.

LII.
*Of the
Lord of
Mouy.*

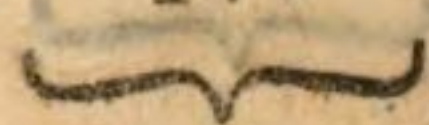
Anthony Raguier, Knight, Lord of Esternay and of La-Mothe de Tilly, followed the Prince of Condé, and brought over to the same Party, and the same Religion, his Brother-in-law Francis of Bethune, Baron of Rosny, Father to the Duke of Sully.

LIII.
*Of the
Lord Es-
ternay.*

Adrian de Hangeft, Lord of Genlis, begot thirty two Children by his wife Frances du Maz, so it was very like that that illustrious and ancient

LIV.
*Of the
Lord of
Genlis.*

Charles
IX.
1562.
Pope Pius
IV.



cient House of Picardy, would recover its former fecundity by a great number of branches, but it happened otherwise; for they all died without Issue, but not without having distinguished themselves in all the Wars of their times, in Italy and in Flanders, and then in the Civil Wars; wherein they ingaged thro' their affection for the Prince of Condé. The eldest named Francis de Hangeſt, Lord of Genlis, Knight of the King's Orders, came to Orleans with the Prince, where the young Genlis, and the Sieur D'Yvoy his Brothers, came ſoon after.

LV.
*The Prince
writes to
the Re-
formed
Churches.*

The Prince did not ſit ſtill at Orleans, but knowing that all that he could get from Paris amounted to no more than ſixteen hundred Crowns, and being in extreme want of Money for diſcharging the neceſſary expences of his Undertaking, he ſent circular Letters to the Reformed Churches, which were to the following purport.

Gentlemen and Beloved Friends,

„ S I N C E it is requiſite now to withſtand
„ the violences and efforts which our Ene-
„ mies, who keep the King and Queen in Cap-
„ tivity, make uſe of to hinder their Majeſties
„ Deliverance, and execute their Deſigns, which
„ tend only to the ruin of the faithful Subjects,
„ and by conſequence of the Kingdom, I ſend
„ you this Gentleman bearer of this letter, to
„ know what Men well arm'd and diſciplin'd
„ you can afford now, deſiring you to ſend them
„ with all ſpeed to this place. I beg you would
„ do your utmoſt at preſent, as you deſire to
„ ſhow your ſelf well-affected to the Service of
„ God, and that of the King and Queen; and
„ if you have no Men fit for Service, at leaſt do
„ contribute

„ contribute with Money towards the levy of
 „ Troops, as this Gentleman will tell you more
 „ particularly from me, to whom I desire you
 „ to give credit as to my self, &c. Done at
 „ Orleans the seventh of April 1562 ” (r).

Charles
IX.
1562.
Pope Pius
IV.

The Churches to whom those Letters were directed, hurried not to give their Answer; they thought themselves obliged to be thoroughly and certainly informed of the matter, before giving their consent to what the Prince required of them. For that purpose, they sent some Deputies at Court to inquire, whether the King and Queen were in the Condition that the Prince said they were in; and if so, to offer their Majesties all the assistance they could afford for their Deliverance. But the Triumvirate's Influence was so powerful, that these Deputations came to very little effect, some of the Deputies were cast into Prison, and even murdered as those of Guienn; some were sent back without being admitted to an Audience, as those of Normandy; very few had the honour of speaking with the Queen, and that too with great ado, thro' the Vigilance of the Triumvirs, who were extraordinary sollicitous to hinder, lest any body should be acquainted with the truth of the matter. Amongst these last, were the Deputies of La Rochelle: And because their Transactions with the Queen is a clear evidence, that the Prince of Condé did not impose upon the Publick in any of his Declarations or Manifestos, I shall set them here at large, as I found them recorded by the Rev. Mr. Philip Vincent.

LVI.

*Effect of
those Letters.*

LVII.

*The Ro.
chellers
Conduct in
this occa-*

He tells us that on the twenty ninth of March Mr. Des Ors Gentleman, came from the Prince to La Rochelle, and having attended the Confistory,

VOL. II.

F

fistory,

(r) Beza ibid.

Charles
IX.
1652
Pope Pius
IV.



history, he delivered his Commission, and said, that the Prince's intent, was to set the King and Queen at liberty, and that he acted on this occasion by the Queen's Orders, requiring to be assisted for that purpose. The matter being of great Importance, they desired to consider of it maturely; their Deliberation was put off 'till the thirty-first of the said month, and after having weigh'd duly all the Arguments *pro* and *con*, it was thought proper, before coming to any Resolution, to be thoroughly acquainted with the fact, and certainly know whether the King and Queen were captive, as it was said; and for that purpose it was resolved in the Consistory, *To send a Man express to Court with all speed, for to offer to the King and Queen-Mother, in the Church's name, all the Service owed unto them; and the Lives and Goods of the Members of it. And Mons. Thibauld Guillon, Judge of the Seal was appointed for that Deputation.*

Mons. Guillon having received his Instructions and Credentials, set out without delay, and made such great diligence, that he came back in very few days. On the twelfth of April he attended the Consistory, where the other Churches of the Government were present by their Deputies. He gave account of his Legation, and said,
 „ That in consequence of the Charge given unto
 „ him by the Consistory, he had been at Court
 „ for to speak with the King, the Queen-Mo-
 „ ther, and our Lords the Prince of Condé and
 „ the Admiral, with Letters directed to them, by
 „ which the Church offered their duties to their
 „ Majesties and the said Lords; that being ar-
 „ rived at Melun, he desired to tender to the
 „ said Queen the Letters directed to the King,
 „ and those directed to herself, which she re-
 „ fused to receive, or even that they should be
 „ read

„ read by himself, but she bid him to address
 „ himself to the Prince of Condé as soon as
 „ possible, because he was not *SAFE* as to his
 „ Person, if he made any longer stay at Court;
 „ for a few days before they had put to death one
 „ Deputy of the Churches of Guienn, who was
 „ come to Court upon a like Errand: That the
 „ Prince of Condé would dispatch him, which she
 „ could not do herself, because of *HER CAPTIVI-*
 „ *TY*: and to the end that the Prince should know
 „ that he came from her Majesty, she gave him
 „ a *TOKEN* for to deliver it into his Highness's
 „ hands; which he did accordingly, and upon
 „ that, the Prince had entrusted him with the
 „ Letters and Credentials, whereof he was the
 „ Bearer.,,

Charles
IX.
1562.
Pope Pius
IV.

A Letter of His Highness the Prince of
Condé to the Church of La Rochelle.

Gentlemen and good Friends,

I HAVE received the Letters you have sent
to me, by the Gentleman bearer thereof: In
answer I shall tell you that I have fully explained
my mind to him, and what the present Juncture
of the Times doth require, that you may mani-
fest in this occurrence, your Affection to the Ser-
vice of God, and your Fidelity towards the
King and Queen now detained in Captivity,
doubting not in the least, but he will give you
a full account of every thing, and that you will
believe him upon his Word, I beg of you that
you would be more ready to grant the necessary
Relief, than to discourse about it. Done at Or-
leans the sixth of April 1562.

Your very good Friend,

Lewis of Bourbon.

Charles
IX.
1562.
Pope Pius
IV.

Besides that Letter, Mons. Guillon tendered another from the Admiral of the same date and purport. His Commission from the Prince consisted of these four Articles. *First*, That the Church should send to him as many Men, and as much Money as they could spare, or if, because of the great Importance of the Place, they could spare no Men, that they would supply him with Money. *Secondly*, That they should put themselves under Arms, and be watchful against any Surprise. *Thirdly*, That they should not give credit to any Letter or Letters that might be written to them in the King or Queen's name, because they were kept under restraint. *Fourthly*, That they should receive no body in their City for to command them, either their Governor or any body else, unless they should be fully satisfied as to their Fidelity to the King, and that they were of the Reformed Religion.

These Letters having been read, &c. the Company resolved that the Churches of the Government of La Rochelle and Country of Aulnix, &c. should contribute eight hundred Livres per month towards the relief of the Prince, and that an advance of two months should be paid down immediately, and *all that for to restore the King and Queen to their Liberty*. On the twenty second of April, Mons. D'Aubigny Lieutenant Civil of Coignac, attended the Consistory with some other Letters from the Prince, notifying to them, *that since his first Letters, he had been obliged to take up Arms, and desiring them to supply him with Men and Money*. Upon which it was resolved, that instead of eight hundred Livres, they would contribute sixteen hundred, and that two months advance should be paid down immediately to the Prince.

This is all that the Churches of that Government did for the Prince's Service during the first Civil War; of which the Rochellers were only Spectators, at the Instigation of the Lord of Jarnac their Governor: for tho' he was a Reformed, and that by his Authority the Images had been pulled down in his Town of Jarnac, nevertheless he refused to join himself with the Prince. Nay, he went so far, that his Brother, Lord of Ste. Foy, having been killed by the Prince's Party near St. John of Angely, he persuaded as many as he could to forsake the said Party. As to the Rochellers, the Count of La Rochefoucault wrote to them on the eleventh of September, for to oblige them to declare themselves, and to receive him; but Jarnac dissuaded them, and prevailed so far, that they shut up their Gates to many Fugitives of the Prince's Party, for whom nevertheless the Church provided, but in the Suburbs. In all the following Wars, the Rochellers made so full amends for this Remissness, that it was evident that on this occasion they had acted out of Fear, rather than out of their Inclination, as we shall see in its proper place (s).

Charles
IX.
1562.
Pope Pius
IV.

On the eighth of April, that every one might know the justice of the Cause, whereof he undertook the Defence, the Prince published a Declaration and a Protest together, which he sent the same day to the King and the Parliament, whereby he shews forth, That tho' his Enemies who had first taken Arms. ought to shew cause and account for their Doings; nevertheless, for to prevent Calumnies, he was willing to declare why he undertook by force of Arms to maintain the King's Authority and of his Edicts,

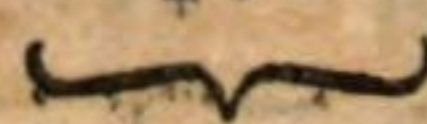
LVIII.
*The
Prince's
first Mani-
festo.*

F 3

con-

(s) See Phil. Vincent Recherches sur les commencemens & progres de la Reformation en la Ville de La Rochelle. pag. 75, &c.

Charles
IX.
1562.
Pope Pius
IV.



conjointly with his Relations, Friends and Clients, being obliged to it as much by the Queen's repeated Orders, as by the Rank which his Birth gave him in the Kingdom; protesting before God and his Majesty, and all the Princes and Potentates allied to the Crown, that nothing else but the Consideration of his Duty towards God and the Kingdom, and the only desire of restoring his Majesty to his former Liberty, and his Edicts to their former Vigour, had obliged him to arm defensively for that purpose; desiring the Help and Assistance of all the good and loyal Subjects of his Majesty, for such a good, just and holy Cause. And whereas for discharging the King's Debts, the General States had promised certain Sums of Money, he doth protest against his Enemies, who have undertaken a Civil War willingly, and without Provocation, that if they do make use of the said Money, he will call them to an account for it at one time or another. He protested likewise, that tho' he would not be, for any thing in the world, behind any Man, as to the Obedience he owed to the King, nevertheless as his Majesty was surrounded by his Enemies Armies, and by consequence his lawful Council was kept in awe, so he would not suffer himself to be trod upon under pretence of any Command or Letters Patents sent to him under his said Majesty's Name and Seal, till his said Majesty should be set at liberty, and his lawful Council restored. Lastly, he protested with all his Adherents then present, that as soon as the King, being entirely free, would command both Parties to lay down their Arms, and retire into their own Habitations, tho', because of his Rank, he ought not to be obnoxious to such Orders, nevertheless, out of the earnest Desire he had of seeing the Kingdom

in Peace and Tranquillity, he would readily obey, whenever his Enemies shall do the same, and the Edict of January shall be inviolably kept. But if such Terms are not accepted, and if continuing to keep the King and his Council in a kind of Captivity, they make an ill Use of his Royal Name, and oppress his Subjects, he does protest on his behalf, that he cannot, nor will endure it, and that all the Evils, Miseries and Calamities which shall befall, shall lie at their doors, as being the sole Authors and Cause thereof (t).

Charles
IX.
1562.
Pope Pius
IV.

This is the Substance of the Prince's first Manifesto, being sensible that his Enemies would not fail to represent every where his Conduct in a false light, he deputed one of his Gentlemen with his Letters to the Elector Palatine, and other Protestant Princes of Germany, to let them know the Reasons of his rising in Arms, and require their Help and Assistance for the Relief of the King and the Kingdom, and for the Deliverance from the threatening Danger the Reformed of France were in. He sent them likewise, a Copy of the Association made a few days before, between him and the Reformed Lords and Gentlemen then at Orleans, which was published only the eleventh of April, and contained four Articles.

LIX.
*He sent a
Deputy to
the Protestant
Princes of Ger-
many.*

I. That this Association was made for just Causes and Reasons, viz. for maintaining the State of the Kingdom, the Liberty of the King and Queen, and the due Execution of the Edicts, and would last between them 'till the King's Majority, to whom they were in hopes of giving one day a good account of their Conduct.

LX.
*Articles of
his Associ-
ation.*

II. They swear to maintain the honour of God and His pure Worship, to punish all manner

Charles
IX.

1562.

Pope Pius
IV.

of blasphemies and profanations, and other vices; and for that end they would keep amongst them the Ministry of the word of God, to be taught in his ways and entertained in his fear.

III. They chuse for their Chief and Leader the Prince of Condé, as one of the first Princes of the Blood, and one of the natural Protectors of the Crown, to whom they promised an entire obedience, submitting themselves to his Corrections and Punishments whenever they should deserve them, as he on his part promised them to perform diligently and faithfully all the Duties belonging to a Chief.

IV. All the Members of the Privy-Council were invited to enter into this Association, and could be comprised in it, those only excepted who kept the King and Queen captive, against their Duty and Allegiance.

These Articles were sworn, confirmed, and signed by all the Company, who promis'd to meet the Prince and assist him with Money, Arms, Horses and all other warlike Equipage, whenever, and wherever he or his Lieutenant should order them, to help and protect all those who for the sake of this Cause should be molested, to detect and reveal all those who out of cowardise, or out of malice and treason should show themselves disobedient or refractory to what they had so solemnly promised upon their Oath (v).

The Elector Palatine answer'd to the Prince the 27th of May; he promis'd all that was in his Power to restore the Peace and Tranquillity of the Kingdom; but he exhorted him withal, to make use of all fair means for avoiding a Civil War, as much as possible.

LXI.
*The Guises
Answer
to the
Prince's
Declara-
tion.*

The Guises having seen the Prince's Declaration, caused a pretended Letter Patent from the King, to be published and registered in Parliament,

(v) Beza ibid. Thuan. ibid.

liament, by which his Majesty was made to say, that he enjoyed a perfect freedom and was at full liberty, that therefore the rumor of his Captivity was false, and a meer Calumny contrived by the Prince for to serve his ends, since he was come willingly with his Mother to Paris.

Charles
IX.
1562.
Pope Pius
IV.

And for to obviate the bad impressions which the Constable's Violences against the Reformed Churches of Paris could make on their Minds, they caused other Letters Patent to be published and register'd the 15th of April, by which the King was made to say, That having got notice, that many of his Subjects were gone to Orleans and other places, moved to that by a panik, that they would be deprived of the benefit of the Edict, he declared that his Intention and Will was, that the Edict of January should be kept and observed in all its Contents throughout the Kingdom, the City of Paris, its Suburbs and Precincts excepted. These Letters were speedily register'd, with this Restriction however, that it was only considering the circumstances of the times, and by provision. Which shewed what was to be expected for the future, since that Exception against the City of Paris, &c. was an evident breach of the Edict of January.

At the same time the Sheriffs of Orleans were introduced to her Majesty the Queen-Mother, the Chancellor being present; she seemed well pleased with what had happened in that City, and ask'd them, whether the Prince's Forces were numerous?

Nevertheless the 20th of the same Month of April, orders were sent to all the Nobility to repair immediately to the King, with their Vassals in arms, for to oppose the Seditious, and those who entertained bad opinions about the Articles of the Christian Faith.

LXII.
The Nobility summoned by the Court.

Charles
IX.
1562.
Pope Pius
IV.



Two days before the Reformed at Paris, being charged with rising in arms, and with denying to pay the imposts, tendered a Petition to the King for to vindicate their innocence about the facts laid to their charge, beseeching his Majesty to receive them under his Royal Protection. That was promis'd, but never kept.

LXIII.
*The
Prince's
warlike
prepara-
tions.*

All this while the Prince levied some Companies of Foot in all the adjacent places of Orleans, under several Captains. Notwithstanding the strict Guard which was kept at Paris, to hinder the Reformed of that City to enlist themselves in the Prince's Service, many Officers and Soldiers slipped away every day and came to Orleans. Several Churches likewise sent some Money to the said City, which was immediately laid out for the maintenance of the Troops. But very few strived to contribute liberally, and as the urgent Necessity required; some for fear of being put to trouble for it one time or another; some preferring their Money before the Liberty of their Conscience; others excusing themselves, and not without reason, upon the great charges they were at for to keep and defend themselves in the Places of their habitations (u).

LXIV.
*The Par-
liament of
Paris's
Answer to
the Prince.*

The 21st of the same Month the Parliament of Paris sent their Answer to the Prince of Condé's Declaration, and thanked his Highness, for having been pleased to let them know in a friendly manner his Will and Intention. „ That they were „ much grieved to see so flourishing a Kingdom „ upon the point of being miserably torn to „ pieces by a Civil War. As for what he said, „ that he took Arms for no other end than to „ restore the King to his Liberty, as in that re- „ spect, they could but commend his Highness's „ good and sincere affection, will and intention; „ on the other hand, they could but acknow- „ ledge

(u) Beza ibid.

„ ledge that the Plea was entirely false, and Charles
 „ invented by some wicked People, ill affect- IX.
 „ ed to the welfare of the Kingdom, since the 1562.
 „ Queen and the King of Navarr had the Ad- Pope Pius
 „ ministration of the Government, as usual, IV.
 „ and consulted chiefly with the Cardinal of
 „ Bourbon ; that they were both his Brothers ;
 „ and that no body questioned their fidelity and
 „ good-will towards the King. As for the
 „ Edict of January that occasioned the present
 „ troubles, he ought to know, that it was no
 „ more perpetual than that of July last, both
 „ published to compose the Tumults ; this be-
 „ ing too much offensive to the Reformed, had
 „ been repealed ; and therefore the last could
 „ be likewise abrogated, if it was found too
 „ hard upon the Catholicks. That to the King
 „ only it belongeth to confirm or cancel his
 „ Edicts, and not to his Subjects, who have no
 „ Right to rise in Arms without the King's
 „ Command (x).

HAD THIS LAST MAXIM BEEN STRICTLY
 FOLLOWED BY THE GUISES AND THEIR AD-
 HERENTS, THERE WOULD HAVE BEEN NO OC-
 CASION FOR THIS LETTER.

After the reception of this Letter, the Prince LXV.
 being informed that the Day before the date The
 thereof, the Orders above mentioned *, which Prince's
 had been sent on the 12th into all the Provin- second De-
 ces of France, had been published through the claration.
 Streets of Paris ; he sent a second Declaration
 bearing date of the 25th, and directed to the
 King and the Parliament, by which he shewed
 forth, That according to his wonted Zeal and
 Respect for their Majesties, which he had manife-
 sted especially, when upon the King's first Orders,
 he

(x) Thuan. *ibid.*

* Summoning the Nobility, &c. to take up Arms, against
 the Prince and his Adherents that were stiled Rebels.

Charles
IX.
1562.
Pope Pius
IV.

he was set out from Paris with his Attendants, in hopes that his Enemies would have done the same, as the King had likewise commanded them to do; he had been willing to submit himself to the terms of laying down his Arms for the Restoration of the publick tranquillity, if on their part his Enemies would do the same: But as he was afraid lest the Reasons by him set forth, had not been faithfully represented to their Majesties, or lest his Enemies with their wonted artifices, had misrepresented the same, in order to feed and entertain the present Commotions, he had thought very proper to publish this second Declaration, desiring the Parliament of Paris to register it, that the King when at age, might be able to discern and judge who had been his most humble and faithful Subjects and Servants in the present Circumstances.

He sheweth forth, that he could not be deemed the Author of these Commotions, but rather his Enemies, who had refused to submit themselves to such reasonable terms as those he had been willing to submit himself to; and no wonder indeed, since that from the time they had set foot in France, they had been the occasion, and even the cause, by their violent Counsels, of so many disturbances that had put the Kingdom more than once upon the very brink of its utter ruin, as the late Kings Francis I. and Henry II. had been made very sensible of by sad experience. He recalled to her Majesty's mind the Reign of Francis II, and compared the turbulent Administration of the Guises Government with that of the King of Navarr, since the time of his being restored to his Birth-right.

Then he cleared himself as to the breaking of Images at Tours, Blois and other places, and said, that far from approving such deeds he had
sent

sent word to the Judges and Magistrates of the said Places, desiring them to punish exemplarily all those, who had infringed the Edicts. That he had settled such good Order at Orleans, that the Clergy had not had occasion, as yet, of making any Complaint. As for the Cities whose Inhabitants, being for the most part Reformed, had undertook to guard themselves, he said that this had been done for the King's Service, for the Restoration of his Liberty, as well as for keeping themselves from the violence of their mortal Enemies. Then he required that the Edict of January should be religiously kept without any fraud, till the determination of a free Council, or till the King's Majority. If at that time his Majesty did not think proper to grant any more to his Subjects the Liberty of Conscience, then he (the Prince) with his Confederates and Allies, should be allowed the liberty of retiring into some other Country, without any prejudice either to their Honour, or to their Estates and Goods. That the losses sustained, by those who quietly lived under the protection of the King's Edicts by the artifices, malice and violence of their Persecutors, should be immediately repaired. That the Duke of Guise and his Brethren, the Constable, the Marshal of St. Andrew, having laid down their Arms, should repair to their Government, or retire into their own Houses, which he would do likewise himself; and for a Pledge of the faithful performance of all and every Article, he offered his own Children, provided his Enemies would do the like (y).

Charles
IX.
1562.
Pope Pius
IV.

The Triumvirs were not at all pleased with this Declaration of the Prince; they absolutely rejected the conditions thereof, and presented a Petition to the King and Queen, whereby they required, LXVI. *The Triumvirs reject the Propositions.*

(y) Beza & Thuan. *ibid.*

Charles
IX.

1562.

Pope Pius
IV.*And made
very Ty-
rannical
Propositi-
ons.*

required „ That the Edict of January should
 „ be entirely repealed by another Edict ; That
 „ his Majesty should declare positively, that
 „ for the future he would not suffer any other
 „ Religion in his Kingdom but the Catholick ;
 „ That he would follow the Steps of his An-
 „ cestors, who had always adhered to the Ro-
 „ man See ; That he would order that all the
 „ Members of his Council, all his Household,
 „ his Brethren and Sisters, all Governors of
 „ Provinces, all those in general who had any
 „ place or preferment, either Civil or Military,
 „ should profess publicly the Roman Catho-
 „ lick Religion, and whoever should refuse to
 „ comply, should be deprived of his Office,
 „ Place or Preferment ; That all Ecclesiastical
 „ Persons should be obliged to sign a Confession
 „ of Faith conform to the Doctrine of the
 „ Church of Rome ; That those who had in-
 „ fringed the King's Edicts, prophaned and pil-
 „ laged the Churches, should be severely puni-
 „ shed ; That the Churches destroyed should
 „ be re-built ; and those who had risen in
 „ Arms without the King of Navarr's express
 „ command, should immediately lay them down,
 „ or else be deemed Rebels and Enemies to the
 „ King and the Kingdom ; That the Troops
 „ levied by the King of Navarr's command
 „ should be kept on foot under his Authority.
 „ The Premises being granted just as they re-
 „ quired, they offered (if the King thought it
 „ proper) not only to retire into their respective
 „ Government or in their Houses, but even to
 „ leave the Kingdom and to exile themselves
 „ for ever.

LXVII.
*The King's
 Council
 takes a
 middle
 way.*

The King answered not presently to this Pe-
 tition ; but the matter of it having been deba-
 ted in his Privy Council, it was thought proper
 to

to take a middle way, between the Demands of the Prince and those of the Triumvirs; therefore it was answered to the Prince, That it was his Majesty's pleasure that the Edict of January should be observed to all its intent and purport, in all its Articles, and should be a Law every where throughout his Kingdom, Paris excepted; that even in that Place, no body should be disturbed or persecuted for his Religion, but every one should enjoy the liberty of Conscience; that no body should be put to any trouble for past Offences, those only excepted who should be found guilty of wilful murder, or having robb'd and pillag'd either the Churches or some private House. As for the Duke of Guise, the Constable and the Marshal of St. Andrew, the King could not dismiss them, because their Presence was requisite for performing their respective charges at Court.

Charles
IX.
1562.
Pope Pius
IV.

That Answer was sent to the Prince in the King, the Queen, and the King of Navarr's name; but the Queen wrote to him in private, and thanked him for his speedy diligence, fidelity and good-will towards her and the King her Son; she promised never to forget the great Services he had done to her.

LXVIII.
*The Queen
writes to
the Prince.*

It is certain that that Prince could do nothing better, nor more *à propos* for the Interest of that Princess, than what he did; for as soon as the Triumvirs saw him at the head of an Army, which he had got together in a little time, they began to have more regard for her, seeing that she was in a condition to side with what Party she pleased; and that too with Success, therefore he deserved all her Thankfulness and Gratitude. But she has not been the only Example that shows how heavy a signal Service lies upon the Breast of one at the head of the Government

LXIX.
*Agricola's
Reflection
on the
Prince's
Conduct.*

Charles
IX.
1562.
Pope Pius
IV.



ment, it is a Load which cannot be born without an extraordinary virtue; because the Politick withstand to it, and frames maliciously a thousand Dreams, a thousand horrid Chimæras, or it stains the image of that good Office by the apprehensions of the Power of him from whom it has been received. It is for that reason that a great Man will rather forgive a thousand Injuries to an Enemy, than be grateful to one who has laid the greatest obligations upon him; and if he is of a Condition to take advantage of it, he is in great danger, if he is not very prudent and cautious. (This is not my own, but Agricola's reflection upon the occasion in hand.) The Queen received great advantages from the first Armament of the Prince of Condé, tho' she disavowed it afterwards; and he undid himself by it, because of the necessity he was in to stay in the Reformed Party, whereof he was obliged to take the Protection, when he could pretend no longer the Queen's Defence. She mistrusted the King of Navarr and his Confederates; that was the true Cause of the first Civil War, to which that Princess contributed much, notwithstanding whatever she had published in the World to the contrary, either by the Bishop of Rennes the King's Ambassador at Vienna, or by her Letter to Christina of Denmark Duchess Dowager of Lorrain, to justify herself, and cast the Odium of it upon the Prince of Condé (z).

LXX.
*The Re-
formed's
great in-
crease.*

During these Contests between those at Paris and those at Orleans, the number of the Reformed increased apace in every City whereof they were possessed; there were very few of the Inhabitants who followed not that Doctrine, persuaded

(z) Le Laboureur Addit. aux Mem. de Castelnau, liv. iii. ch. 8.

suaded to it by the hearing of the Sermons, or other mild ways, without any violence offer'd to them, either in their Bodies, or in their Goods, especially at Orleans, where the Prince of Condé would not allow, that their Assemblies should be kept in any Church belonging to the Catholicks; nay, he sent for the Clergy, and assured them, that they should not be hindered at all from performing their Service as usual. And even the Reformed had many more Soldiers quartered upon them, than the rest of the Inhabitants. Nevertheless most part of the Clergy chose to leave the place, mistrusting the Prince's word, and retired whither they thought proper; and those who staid, either out of fear, or for some other reasons, kept their Church-Doors shut.

Charles
IX.
1562.
Pope Pius
IV.

But that State of tranquillity lasted not long, notwithstanding all the Prince and other Lords endeavours to keep the People quiet. The 21st of April some of the Churches were found to have been broken open in the night, and some of the Images pulled down, and from that day no stop could be put to such disorders by any means. One day the Prince, the Admiral, and several other Lords, understanding what the common sort of People amongst the Reformed Inhabitants were a-doing in St. Cross's Church, hastened to it, and endeavoured with their Canes and Swords to refrain that madness. Nay, the Prince, seeing one of them about to pull down a great Statue, took a Musket and was going to fire at him, when he told his Highness, Pray, Sir, have a little patience, 'till I have done with this Jobb, then kill me, if you please (a). From that day there was no exercise of the Roman Religion at Orleans, tho' the Reformed made no use as yet of the Catholicks Churches. As

*Their posterous
zeal against I-
mages.*

Charles
IX.
1562.
Pope Pius
IV.



LXXI.
*The third
National
Synod of
the Re-
formed
Churches.*

to the Plate, Relicks, Ornaments and Treasury of these Churches, the Prince avoided as long as he could to seize upon them; but at last, being forced by extream want to do it, he made an Inventory of the value of every thing.

The third General Synod that had been appointed at Orleans before the Troubles, met accordingly, tho' several Deputies of the Churches could not attend, because of the Civil Commotions; but a good number of Ministers and Elders being present, the first Session began on the twenty seventh of April, at which the Prince, the Admiral, and other great Lords then at Orleans assisted, as much for hearing the Speeches made and the Resolutions taken, as to give them a greater Weight and Authority.

Monfieur de Chandieu Lord of La Roche, one of the Ministers of Paris was chosen President, tho' he was but twenty three Years old; he was a Youth, says Thuanus, *in which Nobility of Birth, Comeliness of Face, Learning, Eloquence and a singular Modesty vyed with one another* (z).

I cannot help saying, that this Synod deviated a little from the Simplicity of the two former, inasmuch as instead of being satisfied with the title of a National Synod, they took that of a **GENERAL COUNCIL**. Here is the Article drawn for that purpose, which is the first of the General Matters.

„ The Ministers and Elders convoked in
„ this Assembly of Orleans for the General
„ Council of France, *following the Determina-*
„ *tion of the last Synod held at Poitiers*, are of
„ Opinion, that the Present Assembly shall have
„ the **NAME** and **AUTHORITY** of
„ **A COUNCIL GENERAL** of the
„ Deputies

(z) Thuan. lib. xxix. p. 94.

„ Deputies of this Kingdom, &c.” I do not know how that matter was debated in the Synod of Poitiers, for we do not see a title of it in the Acts of that Synod published by Mr. Quick and Mr. Aymon; we find only that in the new Articles added to the Discipline, they say, that *the GENERAL COUNCIL shall determine of all Church-Matters, nor shall there be any Appeal admitted from it, such points excepted, as it self shall judge needful to be turned over to the next GENERAL COUNCIL of all the Churches of this Kingdom, and of OTHER PERSONS who may think fit to come unto it, &c.* That is Quick’s English Translation; wherein certainly he hath mistaken the French Original, which runs thus, *The Provincial Synod shall determine of all Church-matters without Appeal, except such points, as it self shall judge necessary to be turned over to the UNIVERSAL Council of all the Churches of the Kingdom, and of other NATIONS (and not PERSONS) who shall think fit to come to it, &c.* Now the Decree of Orleans methinks goes further, it seems to insinuate, that those Assemblies were made up of the Deputies of all the Kingdom, Catholics as well as Reformed, or at least that the Reformed made the major part of the Kingdom; it seems likewise that the Synod of Poitiers had determined the Title they were to take; in short it must be owned, that the Expressions are not accurate enough, and say more than they were intended at first, but let this be said by the way (a).

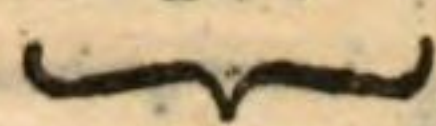
Charles IX.
1562.
Pope Pius IV.

The Book of one Morelli, who pretended that the Minister’s Election ought to be made by the Congregation, contrary to the Determination

G 2

(a) Aymon Synod Nationaux des Egl. Ref. de France, Tom. I. Quick Synodicon in Gallia Reformata. Vol. 1.

Charles
IX.
1562.
Pope Pius
IV.



nation of the Discipline, was censured and condemned, and its Author being refractory was excommunicated by the Synod (b). One Bolifer made a publick Recantation of his Errors in the same Assembly; but seeing afterwards that the Reformed Churches were threatned with a Persecution, he persevered not in his Repentance. They made several Additions to the Church-Discipline, they ordered a publick Fast-Day, and publick Prayers to be put up to divert the heavy Judgments of God, which they saw ready to fall upon the Kingdom, and made several other good Regulations.

LXXII.
*Deliberations of the
Prince's
Council.*

Now as the Civil War seemed unavoidable, and whereas Religion was the Pretence thereof, it was propounded in the Prince's Council, whether it would not be proper to desire the Protestant Princes of Germany to send a speedy Succour, and a sufficient number of Troops to withstand the Efforts of the common Enemy. But the Admiral of Chatillon, or Coligny, opposed with all his Might the Proposition, and said, that he chose rather to die, than to consent that the Reformed should be the first that introduced foreign Forces into the Kingdom (c).

*They send
two Deputies
into
Germany.*

Therefore it was only resolved to send two Gentlemen into Germany for to watch the Motions of their Enemies, and the Steps they would take, and to be ready to confute their Calumnies; and to desire the said Princes to send their Embassadors in France, to make an Agreement, if it was possible, between the two contending Parties, to the end that during the King's Minority, the Blood of his Subjects should be spared. The next day the Council gave charge to the said Gentlemen, to remain in Germany till the Peace should be restored in France, and if the

(b) Beza liv. vi. (c) *ibid.*

the posture of affairs should oblige them to require the Assistance of the Protestant Princes, they would receive new Instructions.

Charles
IX.
1562.
Pope Pius
IV.

These two Deputies took their way through the County of Burgundy, which was the safest, tho' the longest; and this I do observe, because they were near prejudicing their Affairs by their long Journey, for the King's Embassador was beforehand with them, and had prepossessed the minds of the Emperor, and of many Princes of Germany.

The Prince of Condé thought proper to seize upon the neighbouring Towns, lying upon the River Loire; Mun and Baugency received willingly the Garrisons sent to them by his Highness without any tumult; only a few days after, some of the Roman Clergy running up and down to retire into some other place, mistrusting the Prince's word, who had took them under his Protection, they were much abused by the Soldiers, nor were the Images and Altars better respected here than at Orleans; nay, they exceeded furiously at Clery, moved to it by their hatred against the Superstition towards an Image of the Virgin, which was worshipped at that place, whither abundance of People from the remotest Countries resorted every day (*d*).

LXXIII.
*The Prince
seizes upon
several
Cities.*

When the Prince, the Admiral and other Lords heard of this at Orleans, they were much incensed against those hot-headed Zealots, being very sensible that nothing could be of greater prejudice to their cause than such indiscreet behaviour, by which they destroyed at once, all that the Prince could say for to justify his taking up Arms, for the due Observation of the Edicts; and they exposed themselves to the resentment of their Enemies, who would not fail

G 3

to

(*d*) Beza ibid. Dinothi Hist. Gal. lib. 11. p. 82.

Charles IX. 1562. Pope Pius IV. to revenge themselves severely, whenever they should have an opportunity of doing it. But for all what the Prince could do to refrain that licentiousness, either by his Exhortations, or his Threatnings, or Punishments, he could not put a stop to it.

He made himself master in the same manner (that is, without resistance) of the other Towns lying upon the same River, above and below Orleans, and opened a free Passage from that City to Lyons.

And strengthens himself at Orleans. He sent Mr. Feugieres to Tours to bring from thence some Ammunition, of which they wanted much at Orleans. They made in this last place an Arsenal, in the Cordeliers Convent, where afterwards they cast Canons; they likewise erected a Mint to coin Gold and Silver Pieces with the King's Stamp.

LXXIV. *Negotiations for Peace still on foot.* Notwithstanding all these military Preparations at Paris and Orleans, the Negotiations for Peace were still on foot. The Countess Dowager of Roze had been desired by the Cardinal of Lorraine, to persuade the Prince to forsake that Party: but she declined that Commission, she consented only, that the Abbot of St. John of Laon might take a tour to Orleans, to try to bring the Prince to some terms of Agreement.

The Prince writes to the Queen, and sends a second Manifesto. The said Abbot being come into that City with Letters from the Queen, the Prince answered her Majesty the first of May; he acquainted her of his earnest desire of seeing Her duly revered and obeyed by every one, as well as by himself, and the Peace and Tranquillity of the Kingdom fully restored. To this Letter he subjoined a Memorial setting forth the ways and means of restoring the Peace and Tranquillity, which were much the same as the former,

former, that is, the strict observation of the Edict of January, and the retiring of the Triumvirs from Court; protesting likewise, as in the former, that if they did not accept of such reasonable terms, they should be answerable for all the Calamities which might befall the Kingdom.

Charles IX.
1562.
Pope Pius IV.

To this Memorial the Triumvirs opposed two Petitions directed to their Majesties the King and Queen Regent, including ways and means of their own for restoring the Peace of the Kingdom, as they bragged, and which were quite contrary, to those proposed by the Prince, and much to the same effect as the former, viz. the repealing of the Edict of January; the publishing of another, by which the King should declare, that he would not tolerate in his Kingdom, the exercise of any other Religion, besides the Roman Catholick, &c. See the rest of the Articles in the former above related. By the second, they declared that expecting that all the Articles of the first should be granted without exception, they offered to retire into their respective Governments, or into their Houses; but added, that far from requiring that the Prince of Condé should do the same, they desired that he would stay at Court by their Majesties Persons, and besought their said Majesties, that they would be pleased to recall him from such a Company which he was with, as soon as possible, expecting nothing from such a Prince, but what was entirely worthy of his high Station. Dated at Paris the fourth of May.

LXXV.
The Triumvirates Answer to the Prince's Memorial.

The King, by the advice of his Council, answered the same day to the Prince, and his Letter was entirely to the same effect and purport as the former.

LXXVI.
The King's Council's Answer to the Prince.

The Prince having received the King's Letter, and the Triumvirates Petition, published a

Charles
IX.
1562.
Pope Pius
IV.

LXXVII.

*The
Prince's
third Ma-
nifesto.*

long Manifesto the twentieth of May, wherein he upbraids the Triumvirs with many things sufficient for rendering their Memory execrable to Posterity.

He says, „ That having held correspondence „ and took counsel with the Pope's Legate, and „ the Embassadors of Spain and other foreign „ Princes, and being moved by their private „ Passions, rather than by any Sense of Reli- „ gion, they had presented not a Petition, but „ a Decree which they had had the boldness to „ tender to the King; that by the advice of „ the said Embassadors, they were come in arms „ to Court, and having seized upon the King „ and Queen, they had undertook to form a „ new Council, removing the old Counsellors, „ and filling their places with new ones without „ experience, the which was evident by the E- „ lection they had made of the six late Coun- „ sellors; an Election so ridiculous in it self, „ that it became the People's Talk. They had re- „ solved to put some others to death, and had „ proscribed some others to be sent into exile; „ amongst the first was the Chance'llor de L'Hof- „ pital, a man scarce to be paralleled for his „ Gravity, Prudence, Learning, Probity and „ Honesty, and some other Members of the „ King's Council, who could brook no more „ than the said Chancellor their violent Coun- „ sels. That they would not have spared the „ Queen herself, whom they had resolved to „ send to Chenonceaux, to husband the gardens, „ had they succeeded in their Attempts, or had „ he not undertook her Defence; they had „ threatned * her Majesty to murder her in her „ bed

* If Brantome is to be credited, St. Andrew proposed in Council, to shut up that Princess in a Sack and drown her in the River, which would have been executed, had it not been for the Duke of Guise who opposed the proposition.

„ bed if ſhe did not comply with them in every
„ thing ; laſtly, they had reſolved to remove
„ from the King's Perſon, the Prince of La
„ Roche-sur-Yon his Governor, and to put
„ others in his place, who would train up his
„ Maſteſty to Riding, Dancing, Fencing and
„ Playing, and the gratifying of his Senſes, Ap-
„ petites and Luxury, without mentioning any
„ thing concerning God or Religion, nor teach-
„ ing him how to ſign the Letters, nor even
„ how to read them, nor to hear the complaints
„ of his Subjects, nor to be preſent in the Coun-
„ cil and learn how to manage publick Affairs
„ and govern his Kingdom; to the end that
„ their ill adminiſtration ſhould be concealed
„ from him, and to deter him from the practice
„ of Virtue, and of what is good and honeſt,
„ as if it was a thing unbecoming and unplea-
„ ſant to a Prince; and that being once imbued
„ with theſe fine Maxims, he ſhould chuſe for
„ his Favorites, Men without repute or merit,
„ and raiſe them above thoſe who have well
„ deſerved of him, &c. *After that he comes to
the main point, and without denying the personal
Merit of the Triumvirs,* he charges them with
an unſatiabſe Avarice, by which they had ex-
ceſſively increaſed their Patrimony, uſing all
manner of methods juſt or unjuſt for that pur-
poſe, without waiting for the King's recompence
for their paſt Labours. *And whereas they ſaid
that the Ediſt of January would be the cauſe of
the Kingdom's Ruin,* he confuted this „ by the
„ conſideration of the ſtate and condition where-
„ in Paris was before the Duke of Guiſe, and the
„ Conſtable came into the City, and when it
„ was governed by the Maſhal of Montmo-
„ rency, every one living peaceably, the Catho-
„ licks found their account in the Ediſt, as well

„ as

Charles
IX.
1562.
Pope Pius
IV.

Charles
IX.
1562.
Pope Pius
IV.



„ as well as the Reformed : that it was very
 „ well known by every one, that as the States
 „ General assembled first at Orleans, then at
 „ Pontoise, and lastly at St. Germain, the No-
 „ bility and the Commons had petitioned the
 „ King to grant Temples to the Reformed
 „ where they might assemble together for the
 „ publick exercise of their Religion. Now a
 „ Duke of Guise who is a Foreigner, a Lord
 „ of Montmorency, and a Lord of St. An-
 „ drew make a Decree of their own, against
 „ the Edict of January, granted by the King,
 „ the Queen Mother, the King of Navarr, the
 „ Princes of the Blood, with the King's Coun-
 „ cil and forty of the most Notables, chosen out
 „ of all the Parliaments. Three Men draw a
 „ Decree against the Petition of all the body of
 „ the Nobility and Commons, that is against
 „ the much greatest part of the Kingdom !
 „ Three men oppose and undertake to subvert
 „ an Edict, to which even two of them, viz.
 „ the Constable and St. Andrew had subscribed,
 „ and had sworn in the most solemn manner
 „ the observation of it ! These three make
 „ a Decree of their own, which cannot be exe-
 „ cuted without kindling a Civil War, and put-
 „ ting the Kingdom upon the very brink of
 „ utter ruin ! As long as they thought that the
 „ Reformed would not be satisfied with the Pro-
 „ vision made for them by that Edict, they have
 „ been well pleased with it ; but when they have
 „ seen themselves deceived in their expectation,
 „ and that the Reformed had submitted them-
 „ selves to the King's Will and Pleasure, then they
 „ have undertook to stir up the contrary Party :
 „ nevertheless they succeeded not at first ac-
 „ cording to their wishes, wherefore the Duke
 „ of Guise was obliged to set himself at work
 „ at

Charles
IX.
1562.
Pope
Pius IV.

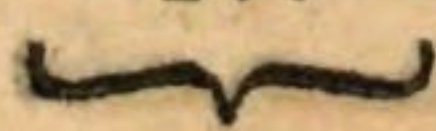
„ at Vassy, and cut to pieces those poor wretch-
 „ es who were assembled to pray to God. The
 „ Constable not finding the Reformed assem-
 „ bled at Paris, as he expected, vented his an-
 „ ger upon the Pulpits, Pews and their Meet-
 „ ing-Houses. And is it a wonder, if the Re-
 „ formed Populace did fall upon the Images in
 „ many places for to revenge themselves?

„ When the Guises petition or rather com-
 „ mand the repealing of the Edict of January,
 „ and the publication of another quite contrary,
 „ it is the same as if they had a-mind to con-
 „ found the divine with the human Rights, and
 „ by that means to subvert entirely the King-
 „ dom: And this they know themselves by
 „ a sad Experience. For having kindled a
 „ War in Scotland, and having sent thither La
 „ Brosse and the Bishop of Amiens, against the
 „ Queen their Sister and Mons. D'Oysel's Opi-
 „ nion, they fell very short of their hopes, and
 „ instead of extirpating the Reformed name out
 „ of that Kingdom, they did efficaciously extir-
 „ pate the Pope's Authority, and have been ob-
 „ liged to accept of Terms not much honour-
 „ able (*b*). Furthermore, when they pretend
 „ to impose a Profession of Faith upon all those
 „ who are in some publick Employments;
 „ what precedent have they for such a thing?
 „ they ought to have better considered what
 „ they were a-doing.

„ Every one may see that such a thing is
 „ quite contrary to the Decrees of the Councils
 „ and the ancient Fathers, who have required
 „ no other Confession of Faith besides the Ni-
 „ cene; but we may say that under this pre-
 „ tence they had a mind to introduce the Spa-
 „ nish Inquisition, so odious to all Nations;
 „ which

(*b*) See Memoires de Castelnau, liv. ii. chap. iv.

Charles
IX.
1562.
Pope Pius
IV.



„ which they have attempted more than once
 „ to settle in this Kingdom ; and what preju-
 „ dice such a Settlement would be to this Realm ;
 „ what miseries and calamities it would bring of
 „ course upon the Subjects, every one knows.
 „ But let the Duke of Guise, and the Cardinal
 „ of Lorrain his Brother, clear themselves from
 „ all suspicion on account of Religion, before
 „ they should be admitted to charge others
 „ with Heresy ; let them abjure the Augustan
 „ Confession, to which they promis'd but lately
 „ to subscribe ; (when they had their Confe-
 „ rences with the Duke of Wirtemberg at Sa-
 „ vern) let the Cardinal recant what he had
 „ oftentimes asserted before her Majesty, con-
 „ cerning Transubstantiation, the keeping and the
 „ carrying about of the Sacrament, the Invoca-
 „ tion of Saints, the Purgatory and the Image-
 „ worship, contrary to the Tenets of the Ro-
 „ man Church.

„ As to the Profanation of Churches, and
 „ breaking of Images, *the Prince says*, That he
 „ had very often testified his Sorrow for what
 „ had happened, which is very evident, since
 „ he had condemned to death some who had
 „ been taken, and who were guilty of the fact.
 „ But on the contrary, no Punishment has been in-
 „ flicted on those who have barbarously murdered
 „ so many innocent Persons, the living Images of
 „ the living God, at Vassy, Sens, Amiens, Ab-
 „ beville, Castelnau, d'Arry, and of late at
 „ Angers. And when the Triumvirs do re-
 „ quire that those who have taken up Arms
 „ should be declared Rebels ; what can be the
 „ meaning of this ? Is it not a certain Indication
 „ that they intend to involve the Kingdom in
 „ an inextricable War, leaving no room to a
 „ reconciliation ; for they do not say that those

„ who

„ who have taken up Arms, and refuse to lay
 „ them down, but *those who have taken up*
 „ *Arms.* But such a point deserves to be an-
 „ swered otherwise than by Pen and Ink, and I
 „ hope to be soon with them, and we shall see
 „ whether it was lawful for a Foreigner and
 „ two Scoundrels to condemn a Prince of the
 „ Royal Blood, and the greatest part of the No-
 „ bility.,,

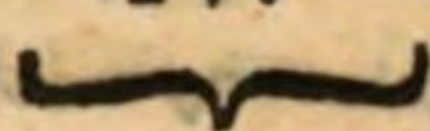
Charles
 IX.
 1562.
 Pope Pius
 IV.

And whereas they made use of the King of Navarr's name, *the Prince desires him to remember*, how unworthily he had been treated at Orleans by the Guises, and the great danger which he was exposed to during their violent Administration. Then he taunts upon the Parliament of Paris, because the Triumvirs referred over to them many things which were not contained in their Petition; he upbraids many of them with receiving Bribes, and being actuated by fear or hopes. Lastly, *he repeats the same Conditions*, and said, „ That he requires no more but that
 „ the King should be restored to the same liber-
 „ ty which he enjoyed six Months before; that
 „ the Queen-Mother should have that free Ad-
 „ ministration of the Kingdom, together with
 „ the King of Navarr, as it had been settled
 „ by the General States; that the Edicts should
 „ be kept, and the Subjects preserved from all
 „ violence and oppression (i).

The Bishop of Valence was much suspected of being the Author of this Manifesto; he was at Court and kept correspondence with the Prince of Condé, to whom he sent his Advices and Answers; he knew many things about the Guises designs, as one who had been very privy with the Cardinal of Lorraine, he had pryed into his opinions about Religion, and was then in very great

(i) Thuan. lib. xxix. p. 91, &c.

Charles
IX.
1562.
Pope Pius
IV.



great favour with the Queen. *De Beze says*, that the Duke's or the Triumvirs Petition was sent secretly to the Prince from Paris, which seems to confirm Thuanus's suspicions upon that matter (*j*).

However, that Answer was sent to the Parliament of Paris, with his Letter directed to them, by which he required them to read it publicly, and to register it.

The Prince had wrote before to the Duke of Savoy on the 12th of May, and sent to him a Copy of those Writings, to the end that the said Duke should not be imposed upon by the Calumnies of his Enemies, and should be enabled likewise to judge thoroughly of the truth of the matter (*k*).

The Ministers had already wrote to the Elector Palatine on the 4th of May, beseeching him earnestly to use all his best endeavours to prevent the evils which their Enemies threatned them with ; and lest any Auxiliaries should be sent from Germany to be employed not only against themselves, but even against the King and the Kingdom ; and to interpose his good Offices with their Majesties, that they might enjoy that Liberty of Conscience and other Privileges granted to them by the Edicts.

LXXVIII.
*The effects
of that
Prince's
Answer.*

The Prince of Condé's Manifesto having been seen at Court, the Triumvirs thought proper to answer otherwise than by writing ; and whereas the War was already kindled in several Provinces of the Kingdom, either out of fear, or to gratify the People, they advised the King of Navarr to publish an Edict whereby the Reformed should be ordered to leave Paris in two days time, without sojourning any longer, nor coming into it any more till further Orders ; or else they should

(*j*) Id. *ibid.* Beza liv. vi. (*k*) Beza liv. vi. p. 52.

should be treated as Rebels to the King. This Order was published the 26th.

Charles IX.

1562.
Pope Pius IV.

The 27th, upon the Remonstrances of Nicholas L'Huillier Lieutenant Civil of the City, the King of Navarr published a Declaration whereby he ordered all the Tithing-Men to give in to the said Lieutenant, the Names of all those known or suspected to be Reformed, for to notify to them the Orders abovesaid; the King's Officers in his Sovereign Courts excepted, who should receive the said Orders by some of the Members of their respective Courts. Indeed the said King forbid by the said Edict, upon pain of Death, the Roman Catholicks to molest in any wise the Reformed who should retire, or to obstruct their Passage; but that Defence was very ill observed; and the time allowed to them being so short, there was no manner of injustice, depredation and cruelties which were not used against them before and after the Expiration of that term; their Houses and Goods were plundered, their Persons exposed to many kinds of indignities and cruelties, not only from the Mob, but even from the Magistrate, who seized upon as many as they could find, dragged them into Jail, and used them as if they had been the worst of Criminals, without any regard to the treatment and good usage which the Roman Catholicks received from the Reformed in the Places whereof they were Masters (1).

*Reformed
severely
handled at
Paris.*

Therefore it was debated in the Prince's Council at Orleans, whether the Roman Catholicks should be expelled from Orleans, as the Reformed had been from Paris; and whether, in all other respects, they should use reprisals upon the Catholicks, or at least, whether they should oblige the Catholicks to pay for the Charges of the War.

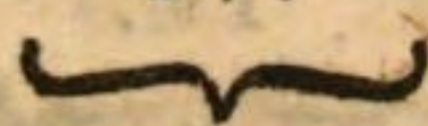
LXXIX.

*The
Prince's
mildness
towards
the Catho-
licks.*

(1) Beza ibid.

Charles
IX.

1562.

Pope Pius
IV.

War. But it was resolved, that they should not do what they condemned in others, but on the contrary they should render good for evil, leaving the vengeance to God. Accordingly two Soldiers were executed for a Robbery committed in the House of a Canon of St. Cross. Indeed it was resolved, that the Clergy either present or absent should be taxed in proportion to their Income (*m*).

The same day, that is, the 27th of May, another Decree was published by the said King of Navarr, ordering the Sheriffs and all the Roman Catholick Inhabitants to take up Arms, and to chuse amongst themselves, Captains, Serjeants and Corporals in such a number as they should think fit, and put themselves in a readiness for serving the King, under the Command of Navarr.

And whereas the Marshal of Montmorency, because of his meek and moderate temper, was suspected by the Triumvirs, he was obliged to follow the Army; the Marshal of Brissac was made Governour of Paris, the Cardinal of Bourbon, who had enjoyed that Charge five or six Weeks, finding himself too unequal for such an Office, readily consented to that Change (*n*).

LXXX.

*The Trium-
virs Army
begins its
march.*

Now the Army which had been assembled in the adjacent parts of Paris under Navarr's Command, who had under him the Constable and the Duke of Guise, with St. Andrew, marched to Chateaudun *, (being four thousand Foot and three thousand Horse strong) in its way to Orleans.

The Prince, not to be shut up in that Place, and for the Reputation of his Arms, came out of Orleans

(*m*) Id. *ibid.* (*n*) Beza liv. vi. p. 75.

* Thuan. lib. xxx. p. 95. but Beza calls the place Mont-lehery.

Orleans at the same time, at the head of his Army, which was six thousand foot, and two thousand horse strong; and encamped about four Leagues distant from Orleans. The Situation of his Camp was very advantageous, the back of it being free to receive commodiously the Convoys that might be sent to them; it was very difficult for the King of Navarr to go any further without forcing their retrenchments.

Charles
IX.
1562.
Pope Pius
IV.

Tho' the Generals of the Royal Army, when they set out from Paris, were fully resolved to attack the Reformed, nevertheless they were puzzled at the Party which the Prince of Condé had taken; for the attack of a Camp well retrenched seemed to them very dangerous, and the success very uncertain. The Queen, who was come to the Army, improved this opportunity for engaging the Triumvirs to renew the Negotiations, and with their consent, she sent the Bishop of Valence to the Prince of Condé, to invite him to a Conference, which he accepted of, notwithstanding the intreaties of his friends, who were afraid of some treason against his Highness; nay, a Fasting-day was extraordinarily published at Orleans on that account (*m*).

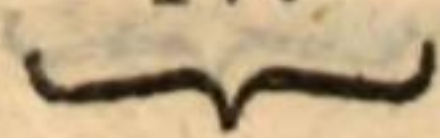
LXXXI.
The Nego-
ciations re-
newed by
the Queen.

The place and time of that Conference being appointed, hostages delivered on both sides, and the number of armed men, which they might bring along with them on both sides being agreed; the Queen came on horseback to a place between Angerville and Touri; the King of Navarr and the Lord of Damville, Son to the Constable, attended her.

First Con-
ference.

The Prince of Condé came likewise, with the Admiral, and the Cardinal of Chatillon his Brother. Damville commanded the party for the Queen's guard, and the Count of la Rochefou-

Charles
IX.
1562.
Pope Pius
IV.



cault that for the Prince of Condé ; there was about three quarters of a mile distance between the two troops ; it had not been thought proper that they should be nearer one another lest they should quarrel, and from words come to blows.

Nevertheless about half an hour after, the two Parties having hardly obtained leave of their Captains to come nearer one another, all of them ran one to another for to embrace, some their Brethren, others their Kinsmen, others their Friends, Relations and Acquaintances ; and after mutual salutation, they reciprocally exhorted one another not to engage themselves inconsiderately in a pernicious War, wherein the Victory was equally fatal to the Vanquisher and to the Vanquished. A moving spectacle indeed to see them ! two Parties divided and almost pulled asunder, now embracing heartily one another, and giving one to another mutual marks of good-will, and for all that, being ready to destroy one another at their Chiefs first word of Command (*n*).

During these demonstrations of Joy mixed with tears, the Queen and the Prince of Condé conferred together for a long while. The Prince insisted that the Triumvirs should leave the Court, and that the Edict of January should be kept. As to the first, the Queen answered that it was not lawful to expel after that manner, the first Officers of the Crown during the King's Minority. To which the Prince reply'd, that the States General of the Kingdom, had already expelled them of late, 'till they had given an account of the Sums received and managed by them. As to the second article, the Queen having answered that it was impossible to have two Religions without occasioning greater Troubles than before, because, all the Catholicks were already

(*n*) Thuan. *ibid.*

already in Arms on account of the Edict of January; the Prince replied, that it did not belong to three private Men to repeal an Ordinance drawn by the States General, when it was a question of the publick Welfare. That the Edict had been granted by all the Princes of the Blood, and all the Lords of the Privy Council, and sworn by the Constable and the Marshal of St. Andrew. Lastly, that indeed there ought to be but one Religion in the world, to wit, that which he and his Confederates professed, which was agreeable to the Purity of the Gospel which condemns all manner of Idolatry and Superstition: nevertheless, that it was not contrary to reason, to tolerate two Religions in the Kingdom 'till the Controversies should be determined by a free General Council. That she ought to call to mind several Examples of the same, as that of the Pope himself, who tolerates the Jews in his Dominions, the Turks tolerate the Christians, the Emperor Charles V. after having tryed in vain to reduce Germany to the same Religion as he himself profess'd, was at last obliged to publish the Interim *. That these things had been duly considered in that Assembly of Notables, by whom the Edict of January was granted (o).

Charles
IX.
1562.
Pope Pius
IV.

How weighty and reasonable soever these Considerations were, they remained fruitless, the resolution had been taken at Paris, and at Chateaudun too, or Montlehery according to de Beze,

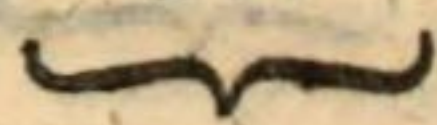
H 2

Without
Success.

* So was called a Book published by Charles Vth's Authority in 1548, to pacify the Commotions of Germany about Religion; wherein very few Articles, as the Marriage of Priests, the Communion with the two forms of Bread and Wine, were granted to the Protestants: it was call'd INTERIM, that is, *for a while*, because it was to last only 'till the determination of a free general Council.

(o) Beza ibid.

Charles
IX.
1562.
Pope Pius
IV.



Beze, not to recede at all from what the Triumvirs had required, or rather ordered by their Petition, and the Queen being frightened by their Threatnings, durst not speak her own mind. Thuanus observes that she seemed to deny the Prince's demands much against her will; and that the King of Navarr affected a great ruggedness, and as much as he had shewn himself before of an easy and tractable temper, as much did he show himself furlish on this occasion. However, after two hours Conference, they broke up abruptly, and parted without deciding any thing, only the Prince was to communicate to his Conncil, what had been said in the Conference; which he did.

LXXXII.

*The Prince
sent his
Answer to
the Queen.*

On the eleventh of June he wrote to the Queen, to let her know that having consulted with his Confederates, they were all of opinion that no means at all could be devised to restore Peace and Tranquillity in the Kingdom, as long as the contrary Party should keep the King and Herself under constraint, and surround them with their Arms: therefore they humbly besought their Majesties not to take it amiss, if they did not think proper to lay down their Arms, which they had taken up for their common Liberty against the violences of their common Enemies. That they could not bear that those, who of late had proclaimed him and his adherents throughout the Kingdom Rebels to the King, should sit as umpires of their Differences; that they could not bear that an Edict granted by an Assembly of so many grave and wise men, should be violated or infringed at the pleasure of a Mob, which their Enemies themselves had incensed against them. That for that cause they had took up Arms, which they would not lay down 'till the Triumvirs should be

be gone from Court. And whereas 'till now they had refused to comply, and chose to sacrifice the Welfare and Prosperity of the Kingdom, rather than their Ambition and the gratification of their other Passions; he was indispensably obliged to take a course which might be safe and useful to the King and the Kingdom, as well as to himself (p).

Charles
IX.
1562.
Pope Pius
IV.

He wrote likewise two days after to the King of Navarr his Brother to this effect.

S I R,

„ **T**H O' I could foresee long ago part of LXXXIII
 „ the present and future Miseries, never-
 „ theless I see now that the evil is worse than
 „ I expected. For the Testimony, which my
 „ Conscience hath always born unto me, as to
 „ the innocency of the Reformed Churches,
 „ and as to your own good-nature, and as to all
 „ my actions, had persuaded me that, compa-
 „ ring the Authors of these Commotions with
 „ me, who has the honour to be your Brother,
 „ who have been always submissive and obedient
 „ to you 'till now, as you know, you would
 „ have been more inclined at least to follow
 „ justice and a brotherly affection, rather than
 „ the persuasions and artifices of those who have
 „ received of you all their increase and gran-
 „ deur, (and seem not able, even to this day,)
 „ to maintain themselves but by the ruin of you
 „ and yours. And indeed, Sir, I am not as yet
 „ out of hopes that you will be sensible of it ;
 „ which is the only cause that has moved me to
 „ write to you more with tears dropping from
 „ my eyes than with Ink ; for what more sad
 „ thing could befall me, than to hear that you

His Let-
ter to the
King of
Navarr.

H 3

came

(p) Id. ibid. Thuan. ibid.

Charles
IX.

1562.

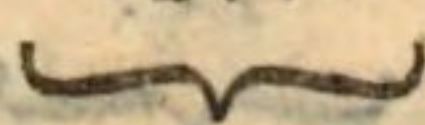
Pope Pius
IV.

„ came with a Lance buckled against one who
 „ would expose his own life to save yours! and
 „ that you take so much trouble to take away
 „ the life of one, who had received it from the
 „ same Father and Mother as you, and had
 „ never spared, nor would ever spare it for the
 „ preservation of your own! Sir, I beg that
 „ you would consider what occasion you have
 „ had for behaving yourself after such a man-
 „ ner? If Religion is the question, no body can
 „ be a better judge than you, whether we are
 „ such, as we should deserve to be treated with-
 „ out any regard to the laws of nature, equity,
 „ and humanity, as if we were the most exe-
 „ crable People in the world; if your conscience
 „ does not allow you to believe all the articles
 „ of our Confession of Faith, I am sure that
 „ your good-nature cannot approve that we
 „ should be used in so cruel and inhuman a man-
 „ ner as we are, far from being the Author and
 „ Abettor of these Persecutions. If the wel-
 „ fare and grandeur of the King is set forth,
 „ who is the Man, Sir, who after you and your
 „ Offspring, can be more concerned in it than
 „ I? Pray, do judge who is more careful of it,
 „ he who is ready to be tryed upon all occa-
 „ sions (provided that the authors of these
 „ troubles absent themselves, that they might
 „ not be judges and party) or those who subvert
 „ every thing, and have already caused so many
 „ murders and miseries, rather than to procure
 „ by their absence, the restoration of peace and
 „ tranquillity, which they have banished from the
 „ Kingdom by their presence? Judge likewise
 „ whether this Crown shall be safe (in case they
 „ should succeed according to their wishes in
 „ destroying those who oppose themselves to
 „ their

„ their Ambition) and what strength shall re- Charles
 „ main in your hands for the preservation of it, IX.
 „ in case of need? If the question is of your 1562.
 „ Reputation and Grandeur, you may remem- Pope Pius
 „ ber that they are those who intended about IV.
 „ two years ago, to deprive you of it in de-
 „ priving you of your Life. Whether, since
 „ that time they have altered their mind, that
 „ I cannot tell, time will show it. But as to
 „ me, Sir, God forbid that the respect I profess
 „ for you should ever die but with me, and
 „ even it will revive in those who are naturally
 „ the nearest Relations of your blood and
 „ your Servants. Nevertheless you will be
 „ pleased to consider, how those men can be
 „ your friends, who seek for the second time after
 „ the life of your dear Brother, and are so bold
 „ as to make you the Minister and Instrument
 „ of their ill-will. Now, Sir, let this be said,
 „ to the end that, if not for my sake, at least
 „ for the honour of God, for the regard of our
 „ Country, and for your own Interest, you
 „ would consider before proceeding any farther
 „ against me, who, by a natural right am ano-
 „ ther yourself, and who, with God's grace,
 „ will never be deficient in my Duty, and
 „ chuse rather to die than to survive the Ca-
 „ lamities that will follow of course the event
 „ of such a Battle, whatever side the victory
 „ should declare itself for. But if instead of
 „ hearkening to reason, the Authors of these
 „ Miseries should persist, and if you do not
 „ think fit to refrain their passions by the au-
 „ thority which you have received from God,
 „ we hope, Sir, that with the Almighty's help,
 „ whose honour we shall defend till the last
 „ drop of our blood, you will see, without con-
 „ cerning yourself in their business, (which is

Charles
IX.

1652

Pope Pius
IV.

„ a thing so unworthy of you) some things by
 „ which you will be inform'd of all their Plots
 „ and Designs, and by which you will be con-
 „ vinced better than ever with what affection, not
 „ only I, but all my Confederates, which are, *after*
 „ *God, the King and Queen*, intirely devoted to your
 „ Written at Orleans the 13th of June 1562 (q).

LXXXIV.

*He writes
 again to
 the Queen.*

The same day he wrote again to the Queen
 by Francis Du-Fou Lord of Vigean, desiring
 her to avoid the present danger, and by conse-
 quence the slaughter, and to interpose her autho-
 rity, and prevent the wicked designs of those
 ambitious Men, who sacrificed the publick wel-
 fare to their private resentment and interest; and
 not to expose herself to the reproach, that by a
 fatal negligence she had been the cause of so
 great calamities; and while she had been kept
 in awe by the threatnings of four or five Men,
 she had not been afraid of incurring the hatred
 of all People of France, and that by a prepos-
 terous prudence, she had hastened the ruin of
 the whole Kingdom (r).

LXXXV.

*A Message
 sent to the
 Prince.*

The day before those letters were sent, Flori-
 mond Robertet Sieur de Fresne, one of the Se-
 cretaries of State, had been sent to the Prince
 by the advice of the Triumvirs, with orders
 subscribed by the Queen and the King of Na-
 varr, enjoining his Highness and his Confe-
 derates at Orleans to lay down their Arms, and
 restore to the King the Cities, Towns and Strong-
 Holds occupied by them; which done, the
 Duke of Guise, the Constable and Marshal of
 St. Andrew, would immediately retire, every
 one to his own house as they had already pro-
 mised, by a writing published on the third of
 May. That the Army should remain under the
 Command

(q) Beza liv. vi. p. 78, &c. Thuan. ubi supra. (r) Thuan.
 ibid.

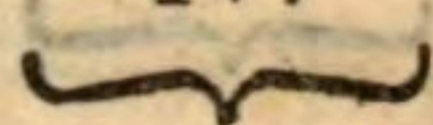
Command of the King of Navarr, who would keep out of the Prince's Army as many as he should think fit, to pacify the Kingdom, and oblige all the Subjects to pay a due obedience to the King, according to their Allegiance: promising positively, that if these orders were submitted to, what was past should be intirely forgot, no Violence done to their Consciences, and no body be prosecuted for his Religion's sake. Francis de la Vieuville and the Count of Villars were sent likewise to treat with the Prince.

Charles
IX.
1562.
Pope Pius
IV.

His Highness's Answer was almost the same as the precedent, he added only, That whereas in some places the fury of the Mob was such, that they were in danger of a Sedition, he required that liberty should be granted to the Reformed of building Churches within, and not without such Cities, Towns or Places, according to the Petition of the States General; that all the Decrees of the King's Council made after the return of the Duke of Guise to Court, should be repealed and made void; that the Cardinal of Ferrara Legate of the Pope, nearly related to the Guises, and the fuel of the flames and fires then kindled in the Kingdom, should depart from it immediately, and go to Rome, there to notify to the Pope, that if he appointed a free Council, either at Lyons, Avignon or Besançon, as the King had formerly postulated, they were ready to repair thither with the King's Licence. That they wanted not any pardon for what was past, since they had took up Arms not against, but for the King, and so they thought that they deserved rather to be honoured and recompensed than to be pardoned. That they required the writings and answers that past between the Prince and the Triumvirs should be register'd in the Records of the Parliament.

That

Charles
IX.
1562.
Pope Pius
IV.



That there was no need to keep standing Armies since the Triumvirs would no sooner be gone from Court, but Peace and Tranquillity would of course be restored in the Kingdom, they being the only Authors of all the mischiefs. As to the Cities, Towns, &c. that were in their possession, they acknowledged and will always acknowledge, the King for their Sovereign Lord, whenever he shall be delivered out of the Bondage wherein he was kept by the Enemies of the State; therefore there was no occasion for standing Armies to attack them, no more than for sending for the Foreigners assistance, as the Triumvirs had done already. That he required that the Emperor, the Princes of the Empire, the King of Spain, the Queens of England and Scotland, the Duke of Savoy, the Republick of Venice, the Switz Cantons, should be required to be Guarantees for the Performance of the Premisses (r).

The Prince sent an account of all these transactions to the Elector Palatine on the 16th of June, and desired him to undertake the Defence of so just a Cause.

LXXXVI.
Both Parties dispose themselves to War.

All these writings on both sides, served only to exasperate them more one against another, and so every thing came at last to an open War.

The Triumvirs relied chiefly on the King, the Queen-Regent, and the King of Navarr's name, the People's Affections, and the Authority of the Parliament of Paris. But the Prince had a greater number of Troops, and the best part of the Nobility that sided with him, either out of their attachment for their Religion, or out of hatred against the Guises, or because they had been secretly stirred up by the Queen-Regent.

The

(r) Thuan. liv. 30. p. 97.

The Count of Grammont commanded the Gasccons, the Viscount of Rohan the Troops raised in Dauphiné and Languedoc, and D'Andelot General of the Infantry commanded the French Troops.

Charles IX.
1562.
Pope Pius IV.

Great Order and strict Discipline was at first exactly observed in the Prince's Army; each Regiment had its Minister to make prayers every morning and evening; no swearing, nor cursing, nor quarrelling were to be heard amongst the Soldiers, the Camp resounded with singing of Psalms; no hazardous play, no debauchery was to be seen; the Merchants, Husbandmen and Landlords were in a perfect safety; the Soldier kept to his Colours without running a foraging or plundering about; all manner of mischief was severely punished. A single Gentleman by name Gabriel de Boulainvilliers, Baron of Courtenay, escaped the Punishment he deserved for having ravished a Peasant's Daughter, but it was only at the strong intreaties of his Friends and Relations; and afterwards he was beheaded at Paris for some other crime, God Almighty not leaving unpunished those crimes which Men do overlook (s).

LXXXVII.
Strict Discipline of the Prince's Army.

Affairs being in the Situation we have said, we must see now what both Parties were a doing, in order to procure to themselves the Assistance of the neighbouring Powers, either in Switzerland or Germany.

LXXXVIII
Negotiations of both Parties in Germany and Switzerland.

As to Switzerland, Freulich Colonel of the Switzers in the King's Pay, being arrived at Paris the 22d of February by the King of Navarr's orders, stayed in that City 'till the coming of the Duke of Guise, and having received from him his Instructions, sat out for Switzerland on the eighth of April. A Courier had been dispatched before

(s) Thuan. *ibid.* p. 97, 98. Beza *ubi supra.* Dinoth. *lib.* 2.

Charles

IX.

1562.

Pope Pius

IV.

before to Coignet the King's Embassador to the Leagues, to require them to appoint a General Diet on the 25th of the same month, for obtaining fifteen Companies for the King's Guard. The Diet was appointed accordingly, wherein was present one Pasquier Envoy extraordinary from the King, who had been dispatched to hasten that Levy, and even to encrease it with five more Companies, if it was requisite to compleat the number of six thousand Men stipulated by the Treaty of Alliance.

However some of the Members of the Diet represented in the Prince's name, that what the Leagues thought to do for the King's Service, was really against him, requiring that if they doubted of the justice of the Cause which the Prince upheld, besides the Queen's own Letters, and the Testimony of many very creditable Witnesses, which may be heard in the said Prince's behalf, they would be pleased to send into France some Deputies, at the said Prince's own Charge, to enquire into the Truth of the matter.

Furthermore, the Deputies of Zurich, Bern, Basil, Schaffausen, Glaris and Appenzel remonstrated, that they ought rather to endeavour to extinguish the fire than to foment it. But Freulich willing to perform what he had promised inconsiderately, and the Embassadors of Spain and of the Pope to the Cantons of Lucerne, Ury, Switz, Underwalden and Zug, prevailed so far, that on the 21st of May the Levy was granted, upon this condition, that a full Year's Pay should be advanced to them and brought to Soleurre: the 11th of June they named their Captains, and on the 23d they marched thro' the County of Burgundy, having obtained leave for it from the Duchefs of Parma, Governess of the Low-Countries.

The

The Constable having received the agreeable News of their march, it was the reason why the Triumvirate broke up the Conferences, and all hopes of Peace vanished away, because they thought that the Prince and his Confederates would submit to any terms, when they should be acquainted with the Succours granted by the Switzers.

Charles
IX.
1562.
Pope
Pius IV.

As to Germany, the two Gentlemen sent thither the 15th of April as aforesaid, having took the longest way because it was the safest, found the Protestant Princes much prejudiced against the Prince of Condé and his Adherents, the Triumvirs having been very cautious to indispose them by their false reports, insomuch that they were somewhat froward to do any thing in favour of his Highness. They promised however to send their Embassadors into France to treat of a Peace, and if they found that the King and Queen-Regent were really captive, as it was reported, then they would take some other course to procure their Liberty.

Accordingly, they sent a Gentleman to Court for obtaining a Passport for their Embassadors, but he was baffled for a long time, and on the 5th of June the Court sent to Strasbourg (where the Embassadors were waiting for an Answer) instead of a Pass, a Compliment from the King, who let them know that the Queen his Mother was gone to Orleans, in a sure expectation of pacifying every thing, and that there was no occasion for them to put themselves to the trouble and charge of a Journey into France; desiring them however to persevere in that good-will, which they shewed for the restoration of peace in his Kingdom.

The Duke of Guise (as aforesaid) had done his best endeavours to win the Duke of Wirtemberg

Charles

IX.

1562.

Pope Pius

IV.



temberg to his Interest ; he had wrote to him on the 19th of March and the 10th of April, with such familiarity, that it seemed as if they acted together in concert ; and he even caused one of these Letters to be published. At which the Duke of Wirtemberg was much offended, and with good reason, having been deceived by him and his brother, since they had performed none of their promises. Nay, they endeavoured to make him an accomplice of the Massacre of Vassy, and of all its consequences, for they made use of these very words.

„ *Monsieur my Cousin, you know how much*
 „ *those new Calvinists deserve punishment, and*
 „ *you will be pleased to remember the discourses*
 „ *we have had together upon that subject.*

Courtelary the King's Interpreter arrived almost at the same time, as the two Gentlemen sent by the Prince, he had letters under the King's name directed to five Princes of Germany, and bearing date the 17th of April ; by which, charging the Prince and his Adherents of being Calumniators, Rebels and Usurpers, he endeavoured to prove that the Edict of January was strictly observed, that the King and Queen-Regent were at full liberty ; therefore he was in hopes that the said Princes, instead of countenancing such an unnatural rebellion, would assist him in suppressing it, and give credit to whatever his Envoy would tell them on that account (t).

The original of that letter having been presented to the Duke of Wirtemberg, the Prince's Agent who was at his Court, made him observe the Cheat, for the Letter was sealed with a privy-seal, and the date was of a different ink from the rest, by which it was evident that the Letter

(t) Beza ibid. p. 86, &c.

Letter was not from the King, but forged by the Prince's Enemies. Besides, that the Secretaries of State used not to write after that manner a Letter in common to so many Princes of that Rank, nor to charge a Man of so low condition as Courtelary was, with a Commission of such importance.

Charles
IX.
1562.
Pope Pius
IV.

These Letters were no better relished by the four other Princes to whom they were sent; each of them answered to the King in private, and exhorted him to keep religiously the Edict of January, and not to stain his reign with the shedding of innocent blood, but to protect impartially his Subjects of both Religions.

As to the Queen, it appears by a Letter which the Duke of Wirtemberg wrote to her at that time, that she had a mind to side with the Reformed, and therefore that she approved not of the Triumvirate's Proceedings; for he told her positively, *That he was very sorry for the troubles She and the King her Son had been exposed to of late, but was much comforted by hearing from herself that she persevered in the profession of the holy Doctrine of the Gospel, and exhorted her to undertake nothing detrimental against the Reformed, but to protect them as well as the other Subjects, and to punish severely the Infringers of the King's Edicts, &c. (u).*

Such being the posture of Affairs, and one of the Prince's Agents being come back to Orleans, the Triumvirs sent the Count of Rokendorf to Germany to raise there four Cornets of Reisters*, and the Count Rhingrave to receive twenty Ensigns of Lansquenets†. One of the Prince's Agents having got notice of this, thought proper likewise to make the requisite preparations for raising

(u) Beza ibid. * They were German Horse. † They were Foot of the same Nation.

Charles IX. 1562. Pope Pius IV. raising Troops, Horse and Foot for the Prince's service, and was so successful, that tho' he had no Money, the Protestant Princes furnished him with forces, and lent one hundred thousand florins of Gold to the Prince. The Landgrave of Hesse particularly signalized his Zeal for his Religion on this occasion (v).

LXXXIX. *Conferences for peace proposed anew to the Prince.* As to the Prince who was at Orleans, his Council and even all his Troops desired earnestly that he should march directly to Paris. But as every thing was ready for his march, on the 20th of June, he received a Letter from the King of Navarr, who required of him to agree to a six days Truce, in order to confer about the means of settling a solid Peace; and for that end he was desired to deliver the Town of Baugency into his hands, which should be faithfully restored to him, if they could not agree upon the Conditions (x).

Unfaithfulness of the Catholics. The Prince, for his Brother's sake, consented to the proposal, in hopes that they would come to some reasonable agreement. But the Catholics were no sooner entered the Town of Baugency, than they fell a plundering the Reformed Inhabitants, and abusing them in all respects.

XC. *The Prince marches out of Orleans.* When the Prince saw himself deceived by his Enemies, and that they had no mind to come to a just agreement, he marched with his Army out of Orleans, fully resolved to improve the first opportunity of giving Battle.

The King of Navarr, in order to mollify his Brother, wrote to him, and excused himself as to what had been done at Baugency, declaring that it was done without his Orders and Knowledge, and that he would take care to have every thing

(v) Beza ibid. (x) Id. ibid. Thuan. ubi supra. Dinothi Hist. Gall. lib. 2.

thing restored to their owners, and the licentiousness of the Soldiers severely punished.

Charles IX.

1562.

Pope Pius IV.

The Prince was satisfied with these Excuses from his Brother, and they began again to talk of an agreement. After many debates, at last the Duke of Guise, the Constable and St. Andrew agreed to this, viz. That having laid down their Arms, they would retire from Court, and go each of them to his own House or Government, and that the Prince should remain as hostage in the Queen and the King of Navarr's power. The Triumvirs left the Army and went to Chateaudun six Leagues distant from the Camp.

He is mollified by his Brother of Navarr, and begins the Conferences.

The King of Navarr came to the Camp, and told the Soldiers that the Peace was made, nevertheless he discharged none of them. The Prince came to Baugency, where the Queen and the King of Navarr were, and was brought immediately into the Camp, to the end, that the Troops should be the better persuaded that the War was at an end, seeing that the chief Leader of their Enemies was in their power.

XCI.

Navarr's Tricks for deceiving the Prince.

But the Prince was secretly warned of the fraudulent dealings of the Triumvirs, who understanding that he had fell of his own accord into their nets, were ready to come back to their Camp (a).

How avoided by the Prince.

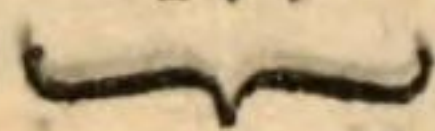
However, the Prince dissembled so wisely, that the Queen suspected not that he was acquainted with the Plot; he obtained leave from her Majesty of sending for the Chiefs of his Army, who would let her know their Intention: but warned them under-hand of the danger he was in, and desired them to come with the greatest number they could, without giving Suspicion.

VOL. II.

I

On

(a) Dinoth. *ibid.*

Charles
IX.1562.
Pope Pius
IV.

On the 29th of June arrived near Baugency, (where the Queen and the Prince had dined together) the Admiral, D'Andelot, La Rochefoucault, the Prince of Porcian, Rohan, Soubise, Genlis, Grammont, Piennes, and other Lords and Gentlemen, attended with a greater Company than the Queen expected; she received them very graciously, and thanked them for the great services they had done to the King and herself, but after some other Compliments, she declared openly to them, *That they ought not to expect, that the Edict of January should be kept, or that any other Religion besides the Catholick should be tolerated in the Kingdom, because the Catholicks were the strongest, and furiously incensed against the Reformed, especially at Paris, therefore it was impossible to keep that Edict: however, every one would be allowed to live in his own house after his own way, without being prosecuted for his Religion, provided that they should make no publick Assembly (a).*

XCII.

Rash Proposition of the Prince to the Queen.

To this the Prince answered, *That she knew very well, that they had took up Arms only at her Command, for the King's Defence, and for the keeping of this Edict, and that they could not without unfaithfulness to the King, dishonour to themselves, and wounding their Consciences, agree to the terms propounded unto them. That they would choose to leave the Kingdom, rather than to live in it without a publick Profession of their Religion, and therefore they besought Her Majesty to approve of their Resolution, and grant them leave of exiling themselves, if by no other means the Peace of the Kingdom could be restored.*

Accepted by her Majesty.

Then the Queen, who desired no better than such an offer as they made, dissembled at first, to know whether they were in earnest, and seemed sur-

(a) Beza ubi supra. Thuan. ibid. Castelnau liv. iii. ch. 1.

surprized at it; but they having insisted upon it, she took them at their word, and promised to give them the necessary Passes and Safe-Conducts, and Licence of selling or mortgaging their Estates, or of farming them, and receiving their Rents wherever they should go; she told them further, that their absence would be only 'till the King's Minority was over, and that she would cause him to be declared of Age at fourteen Years, and then he would not fail to recall them.

Charles
IX.
1562.
Pope Pius
IV.

That Conference being ended, the Prince with the Lords and others of his Attendants came back to his Camp very glad to have escaped the danger; the Queen likewise was much pleased that she had brought matters to that point, that they had chose of their own accord to go out of the Kingdom. Being returned to Tassy, she was impatient to see the execution of their Promise; for that end, she sent that very night, Mons. de Rambouillet that he might be at the Prince's Levee the next morning, and hasten his parting, or at least, to know what day he would set out on his Journey with the other Lords his Attendants, promising to send him ten thousand Crowns for that purpose.

Now such a step of the Prince and the Lords, was generally disapproved by his Party, as evidently tending to their utter ruin, and that of the Reformed in France. Some ways or other ought to be devised to break these measures; but Providence offered them one. Some Letters of the Duke of Guise to the Cardinal of Lorraine his Brother were intercepted at that very time, by which he sent him word, that the Prince being come to the abovesaid agreement with the Queen, now they could be masters of every thing, and the Reformed would be extirpated.

XCIII.

The
Prince's
Party dis-
satisfied.

Charles IX.
1562.
Pope Pius IV.

tirpated. A Memorial written by the Triumvirs, and sent to the King of Navarr, by which he was to rule himself, was likewise intercepted and presented to the Prince; amongst the Articles there were the following.

Not to allow to those of Orleans to come near the place where the King and Queen should be.

Not to engage himself to any thing concerning Religion.

To keep the Guarant (that is the Prince) and give orders to the Troops to march immediately.

Not to countermand the foreign Troops 'till every Article should be fully executed.

Concerning the Town-Officers who have called to their Assistance those who have possessed themselves of them (that is the Reformed.)

Concerning Des Adrets and others, who have disposed of the King's Officers (b).

*He draws
back his
Word
without
breach to
his Honour.*

These things having been considered in the Prince's Council, to which the chief Officers of his Army had been invited, it was unanimously resolved, that the Prince could not in Honour nor Conscience forsake his Party, with whom he was obliged by his Association-Oath to stand; which Oath could not be dissolved, but by the unanimous Consent of all the Associates. And as to the offer made to the Queen, it was conditional, to wit, if by the said Prince's absence the Peace and Tranquillity of the Kingdom could be restored. But it was plain that quite the contrary would happen, that his Absence would occasion the utter ruin of the Kingdom, leaving the King in his Minority exposed to the Ambition of some Foreigners, and forsaking a vast number of People, all good and loyal Subjects to the King, to be the victims of the unsatiable Cruelty of those, who had always shewn

shewn themselves thirsty after their Blood. And as to the Queen who had altered her mind, re- proving the Edict of January, and approving all that had been done under the King of Navarr's name, it was answered, That a greater Regard ought to be had for what had been lawfully and solemnly established according to the request of the General States, than for what the Enemies could have extorted by force from their Majesties. Besides, that it was well known that without the Authority of the said States, the Queen could not consent to a War, much less to a Civil War, nor the King of Navarr, as Lieutenant-General of the King, could not rise up in Arms during his Minority, much less upon such an Occasion (c).

Charles IX.
1562.
Pope Pius IV.

These things being maturely considered, the Prince delivered his Answer accordingly to the Gentleman sent by the Queen (Beze names him de Rambouillet, and Thuanus du Fresne) who, seeing that his Highness had altered his Mind, intreated him to come again to talk with the Queen upon that subject, which the Prince granted readily, for he desired no better than to have an opportunity of calling in his Word and Promise. Therefore he went to the Queen with the same Company as before (d).

After some Debates with her Majesty, he told her in short, that he had quite altered his Mind; and the Queen having challenged the Promise which he had done for the Welfare of the King and the Kingdom, he excused himself, setting forth the abovesaid Letters intercepted. At the same time another Letter written to the King of Navarr, was intercepted and brought to the Prince, by which the Triumvirs desired the said King, to treat no longer about the Edict of January,

Charles but to insist upon the Restitution of the Cities
IX. and Towns in the Prince's possession, and that
1562. if HE ARRESTED THE SAID
Pop^s Pius PRINCE WHILE HE WAS IN
IV. HIS POWER, he would do a thing very
worthy of himself.

By these means, all hopes of pacifying matters
vanished away, and the Reformed began to
mistrust the Queen (*e*). Therefore the Prince
and his Company returned to their Camp.

XCIV.
D'Avila
refuted.

I do not know where D'Avila has found the
Tale he relates, and which had been copied after
him by Father Daniel, viz. That for dising-
ging his Word, the Prince's Adherents thought
that the best way was, that during his Confe-
rence with the Queen, the chief Officers of his
Army should feign an Insurrection, and would
surround him and carry him away by force into
his Camp, and that by this feigned Violence his
Honour would be safe, and he should assure the
Queen, that he was no longer master of per-
forming his Word. That being gone to meet
the Queen at Baugency, that Comedy was ac-
tually play'd just as it had been concerted, &c.
(*f*).

What surprises me the most in this Account is,
that none of the Historians of those days, D'A-
vila excepted, speaks of that Fact. Not a word of
it is to be found neither in D'Aubigné, nor Thua-
nus, nor Dinoth, nor Castelnau, nor Beza who was
in the Prince's Camp at that time : Therefore we
must not give credit to such an idle Tale, no more
than to many Reflexions that the said Father
Daniel makes against the Prince of Condé, the
Admiral and other Chiefs of his Party, nor
those which he lends to them, just as if he had
been

(*e*) Momoires de Castelnau liv. iii. ch. 11. (*f*) D'Avil
Hist. des Guerres Civiles liv. iii. p. 101.

been present in their Councils, but which are no better than the productions of his second Genius.

See particularly page 746, where speaking of the Promise the Prince had made to the Queen, of leaving the Kingdom, if the Triumvirs left the Court, he says, That that news which the Chiefs of the Huguenot Faction expected not, confounded them entirely, and the Prince was mighty sorry to have been so forward.

THE EXILE TO WHICH HE HAD CONDEMNED HIMSELF BY HIS OWN WRITING, THE COMMAND WHICH HE RELISHED SO WELL, AND THE GREAT DELIGHT HE TOOK IN SEEING HIMSELF AT THE HEAD OF A STRONG PARTY, THE GREAT PROJECTS HE HAD GROUNDED UPON THAT, &c. For God's sake what great Projects had he grounded upon the Civil-War? Could he be greater than he was, being the first Prince of the Blood, after the King of Navarr? Did he ever aspire to the Crown of France, to the prejudice of the King's Brothers and his own? no such things had ever been laid to his charge.

What Delight could he take in the Civil-Wars, in which he engaged himself so much against his will, according to Castelnau and Thuanus, and which he did all his Endeavours to avoid, according to the same Historians, and wherein he had to suffer so many inconveniencies, and even he saw himself exposed to the greatest straits for want of Necessaries. What then! He desired to see the Reformed enjoying of the benefit of an Edict granted to them in the most solemn manner; he desired to enjoy all the Privileges due to his Birth; is such an Ambition blame worthy? Father Daniel would have done much better, to keep all those refined strokes of his Rhetorick for describing to us in their native colours, the

Pride,

Charles
IX.1562.
Pope Pius
IV.

Pride, Ambition, Avarice and other Passions of the Triumvirs, which put the Kingdom to the very brink of its utter ruin; *but they were too good Servants to the Pope.*

XCV.
*Murmurs
of the
Prince's
Army.*

Now to come back to our main Subject, the Prince's Troops were much exasperated, when they heard of the great danger he had exposed himself to, even by the advice of his Council; they complained loudly that they were amused, and that all those Parleys and Conferences were no better than a trick of their Enemies to get time for assembling their Forces, and fall upon them unawares. That they lost the fairest opportunity of ending the Troubles, by attacking with great advantage their Enemies Army. That they could chuse any thing else rather than those Delays. That they desired no better than to be led against the Enemy, of whom they would give a good account in half an hour's time (g).

XCVI.
*The Prince
resolves to
surprise
the Enemy.*

The Prince having called his Council, it was agreed not to part from that place without doing something extraordinary, which might give reputation to their arms; therefore they resolved to attack in the night-time the Enemies Camp, while the Triumvirs were still at Chateaudun.

*He mis-
carries in
the At-
tempt.*

That Enterprize could not be better contrived than it was, and would have been of infinite advantage to the Reformed Party, had it been executed as it had been concerted: But by the unskilfulness of the Guides, they were so misled, that tho' they had marched all the night, they found themselves at the break of Day, only at a league's distance from their own Camp; and the Marshal of Damville Son to the Constable, who had his quarters at the front of his Father's Army, having got Intelligence of the Prince's Approaches, fired two guns to give a Signal to the other Chief Officers, who imme-

(g) Thuan. *ibid.*

diately

diately came from all quarters to the King of Navarr's assistance, whereby that nightly expedition, and the hopes grounded on it vanished away.

Charles
IX.
1562.
Pope Pius
IV.

The Prince of Condé stood his ground with his Army facing that of the Enemy, 'till about one a Clock, but the two Armies parted after some Skirmishes, the Prince retreated in good order to Lorges, about a league's distance from the Enemies Camp. The King of Navarr, having sent for the Triumvirs, who were still at Chateaudun, marched out of his Camp the next day, with his Army in battalia.

The Prince vexed for the loss of Baugency, which was not restored to him as he had been promised, was obliged to attack it, and took it by storm. All the Garrison of two Companies of Foot, and forty Horse strong, which the Duke of Guise had lodged in it, was put to the sword, very few excepted, and the Town given up to be plundered by the Soldiers. Here, for the first time, that excellent Discipline which had been observed 'till then in the Prince's Army as abovesaid, was infringed. Here was the first beginning of the Rapines and Licentiousness of the Soldiers, which came by degrees to such excesses, as cannot be paralleled in History, but by those of their Enemies, and which caused so much grief as well as shame to the Chiefs, who were not able to restrain it (*b*).

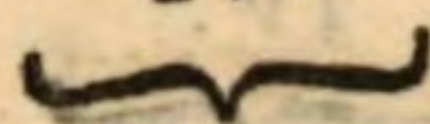
XCVII.
*He takes
Baugency
by storm.*

While the Prince was before the Camp at Tally, and on the 3d of July, the Enemy made use of a stratagem; they detached some Companies out of the Rear, and some pieces of Ordinance, which they sent directly to Blois, (the Prince mistrusting nothing) and made themselves masters of that City on the 4th of the same Month,

XCVIII.
*The Trium-
virs sur-
prize seve-
ral Cities.*

(*b*) Thuan. *ibid.* Beza *ibid.*

Charles
IX.
1562.
Pope Pius
IV.



the Garrison having took a fright, thinking that the whole Army was there. Tours, Meaux, Poitiers, Saumur, Angers, &c. followed that Example, and surrendered themselves without resistance, except Poitiers and Angers, that could not withstand long; in short, they made themselves masters of the Loire from Orleans to the Sea.

Their excessive Cruelties against the Reformed Inhabitants.

It is impossible to describe the Cruelties and Barbarities committed for several days in these Towns, especially at Tours, Angers and Poitiers, some were drowned in the River, others inhumanly murdered without distinction of Age, or Sex: at Blois a Gentleman having escaped the fury of the water, could not escape the fury of the Murderers. Mer near Blois was given up to be plundered for nine days together, and the Minister was drowned in the River. The Prince complained of these Inhumanities to the King of Navarr, but he was answered, *That such things ought to be excused by the necessity of the War.*

XCIX.
The Prince returns to Orleans.

Now the Prince after the taking of Baugency, came back with his Army to Orleans, several of the Nobility and the Gentry being tired with the War, were upon the point of disbanding themselves, and that on different pretences; some were extreamly dissatisfied with the many blunders the Chief Leaders had committed since the beginning of the War till then; others entertained some scruples about the lawfulness of that War, others had been underhand bribed by the Court during the Parleys and Conferences, for it was observable that none of them ever went to Court upon some Errand, but he was quite altered in his mind at his return, and all his Zeal was almost quite cooled; others were moved by an unreasonable Ambition and Jealousies, because they were not preferred to others in the Employs, and out of spite they asked leave

to withdraw ; others had a more specious pretence, for they said, that in their absence, their Houses and Families were exposed to the fury of their Enemies, who plundered them, and used the greatest Barbarities against their Wives and Children ; lastly, many who were come to the Prince's assistance at their own Charge, were at a loss how to find money for subsisting any longer. However, several forsook him upon receiving Letters of remission from Court, and repaired to their own Houses or to Court. All these Inconveniencies would have been prevented, had the Prince followed the Admiral and other principal Chiefs Advice, and given Battle to the Enemy, at least after the first Conference at Toury, when he saw that the Triumvirs sought nothing else but to prolong the time, 'till the Germans and Switzers should be arrived in France.

Charles
IX.
1562.
Pope Pius
IV.

In order to remedy these Inconveniencies, the Prince called his Council, wherein after some Debates, it was resolved to leave at liberty whoever should have a mind to retire. Then it was likewise resolved to send Soubize to Lyons, La Rochefoucault into Xaintonge, Duras into Guienn, Ivoy to Bourges, D'Andelot was sent into Germany to hasten the Succours, Briquemaut and the Vidame of Chartres into England on the same errand ; the Prince of Porcian into Champagne ; as to the Prince of Condé, he stayed at Orleans with the Admiral, and several Lords and Gentlemen, with 22 Ensigns of Foot, and they began to repair the Fortifications of that place, and to add some new ones.

C.
How he prevented the general disbanding of his Army.

They had took before into their consideration, the means of hindering the Auxiliaries of Germany, from joining with the Triumvirate's Army. And whereas, to engage them in their Party, the Triumvirs had given to understand

CI.
Ways devised in his Council to hinder the junction of the Auxiliaries of Germany, &c. with the Triumvirs.

Charles
IX.1562.
Pope Pius
IV.

to several of the Protestant Princes by their Emisseries, that none but the Prince of Condé and his Adherents opposed the reception of the Augustan Confession in France; it was thought proper to send them an abstract of their Confession of Faith, which was subscribed by the Prince in his Camp at Baugency on the 5th of July, and delivered to Rockendolf, who was already on the Frontiers with his Reisters.

That writing being read in the Camp, about one hundred and forty of them refused to march against the Prince, and went to join him at Orleans under the Command of Gaspard de Tornberg and Henry de Bunau, two brave Captains, who were very serviceable to the Prince. Nothing was attempted to win the Switzers, who were in march to the Triumvirate's assistance, under the command of Colonel Freulick, because most part of them were Roman Catholics.

CII.

*Several
Declarations of the
Parliament of
Paris against the
Prince's
Party.*

All this while the Prosecutions against the Reformed were carried to the highest degree of Injustice and Fury. The Parliament of Paris, at the COMMAND of the Triumvirs, but especially of the Cardinal of Lorrain, published several Decrees against them; by that of the last day of June, all the Image-breakers were out-lawed, their Goods and Lives forfeited without taking any cognizance of the cause, as guilty of High Treason.

In consequence of that Decree, more than fourscore Persons were murdered at Paris, tho' no Image had been broken there, but one at St. Honore's Gate, which had been pulled down by some unknown person in the night-time. By another Decree of the 8th of July, which reflected especially upon the Cardinal of Chatillon, all the Benefices and Livings of those who sided with the Prince at Orleans, were declared vacant
and

and impetrable. By another of the 11th of the same month, the Commissaries of the Wards were enjoined to make a strict inquiry into the Goods, Estates and Revenues of the Absentees, and make their report to the Court. By another of the 13th, all the Judges and the King's Officers were obliged to deliver their Confession of Faith under their hand, according to that which had been framed by the Sorbonne under Francis I. in 1544, and to obey in a fortnight's time after the publication of that Decree, or else their Charges or Offices would be forfeited. The same day another Decree was published, by which the Populace either in the Towns or in the Villages were allowed to rise in Arms against all those who should molest the Priests, or met together publickly or secretly for their Divine Worship, and to seize upon the Ministers, Elders or Deacons, or any other, who had any charge or office in the Reformed Churches, to be tried as guilty of High Treason; forbidding on the same penalties, any person, of what quality soever, to conceal them. By another of the 27th of the same month, those who had taken up Arms at Orleans, Lyons, Rouën, and other places, were declared Rebels, Enemies to God and the King, and their Goods were forfeited, unless they should lay down their Arms immediately. Tho' the Prince had protested against such a Decree before it was published, and challenged many of the Presidents and Counsellors of the abovesaid Parliament, nevertheless, all the favour he received was, that he was excepted out of that Act, because they were willing to suppose, that he was detained by force, and acted against his will. Lastly, the 29th of July, another Decree was published, declaring that the Goods and Estates of the Reformed above mentioned, were forfeited to

Charles
IX.
1562.
Pope Pius
IV.

Charles
IX.
1562.
Pope Pius
IV.

CIII.
*The Rhin-
grave ar-
rives at
Court
with Aux-
iliaries.*

to the King, and for that end, that such Goods and Estates should be administered by Commis-
saries, and the product thereof put into the hands of the King's Receiver-General (i).

Upon the first of August the Rhingrave arrived at Court with twenty Ensigns of Lansquenets, and received very great Presents, which were more efficacious, than all the Promises he had made to the Elector Palatine and the Duke of Wirtemberg, that he would not make use of his Troops against the Reformed, having himself professed the same Religion; (for he had commanded in the Protestant Princes Army against Charles V. and had been for that reason banished from the Empire.)

He brought news of the great Levies which were made in Germany for the Prince's Service; for which reasons, the Triumvirs demanded great Succours of Men and Money from the Pope's Nuncio and the Embassador of Spain. They promised to send some Auxiliaries in time; and as to the Money, they offered two hundred thousand Crowns, which Sum the Clergy warranted at the instances of the Cardinal of Lorrain. They doubted not in the least, but that they would subdue entirely the Reformed, before they could receive any assistance from Germany; and it had been to oppose it, that D'Oysel had been sent into that Country, but all his endeavours proved ineffectual, as we shall see in its proper place.

CIV.
*The Queen
writes a-
gain to the
Prince.*

The Queen seemingly solicitous for the safety of the Prince and the Lords his Adherents, especially because the Plague raged at Orleans, wrote to his Highness, desiring him not to stay till he should be proclaimed a Rebel, with the rest of his Confederates, and to accept of a Pass
for

(i) Beza liv. vi. p. 107, &c.

for his going out of the Kingdom, since she could do nothing better for him and his Adherents.

Charles IX.
1562.
Pope Pius IV.

The Prince answered on the second of August, that he was very sorry that he had suffered himself to be imposed upon by so many Parleys and Conferences with Her and the King of Navarr, who were perfectly Slaves to the Triumvirs. That to exile a House of the first Princes of the Blood, in order to settle in the Kingdom a House of Foreigners, was a thing not to be suffered. As to the rest, he wondered at the Threatnings of the Spaniards and Italians, to whom the Kingdom was made a prey; that they ought to know that he had the Great God, Ruler of all Nations, for his Protector and Defender (*k*).

The Prince's Answer.

Three days after, that is, the fifth of the same month, it was ordered by the Parliament of Paris, that the Houses of those who had fled to Orleans, or elsewhere, for the Prince's Service, should be opened and lett to the King's Profit; which Order occasioned many plunders and robberies. And (if the Cardinal of St. Croix, the Pope's Nuncio is to be credited, and why not, since he was upon the place!) every day afforded him the diversion of seeing some Reformed burnt alive at Paris; the fourth of this month four suffered that cruel death, and he expected on the fifth another such like Spectacle (*l*).

CV.
A new Decree of the Parliament of Paris.

Now the Triumvirs, either out of Suspicion against the Queen, that she would come to some secret agreement with the Prince to their prejudice, or to give a greater credit and reputation to their Arms, and dazle the Foreigners as well as the Nation's eyes, insisted warmly upon the King and Queen's coming

CVI.
The King and Queen come to the Triumvirate's Army.

(*k*) Beza ibid. (*l*) St. Croix Lettre 25. Mem. Secr.

Charles
IX.
1562.
Pope Pius
IV.



coming to their Camp near Blois. Therefore the King of Navarr, intirely at their devotion, went to fetch them, the Cardinal of Ferrara Legate of the Pope, and the Cardinal of Lorrain attended their Majesties, and were escorted by the twenty Ensigns of the Rhingrave, ten French Companies, and some pieces of Ordinance. The eighth of August they arrived at Chartres, where (at the Cardinal of Lorrain's instances) the Clergy of that City gave a round Sum of money to the King. The Parisians had presented his Majesty with five hundred thousand Livres, and he demanded a million of Gold of the Generality of the Cities of the Kingdom, which for the most part were raised on the Reformed.

The King went through the Country of Beaufle, without any bad rencounter, and arrived at Chateaudun, where he was received by the Duke of Guise, who desired his Majesty to give orders, that for the future, his Camp should be no more called the Camp of Guise, but the King's Camp; which was readily granted, his Majesty being not sensible as yet of the consequence.

CVII.
All the Catholics are ordered to depart from Orleans.

The Prince supposing that the Triumvirs would lay siege to Orleans, commanded all the Roman Catholicks to leave the City in a short time prescribed on pain of death, and continued the Fortifications in good earnest, no body being exempted from work, not even the Ladies and Gentlewomen, who carried the Dosser as well as others, tho' the Plague encreased daily, of which many Soldiers and People of all ranks died; amongst the Nobility were the Vidame of Châlons, the Lord of Toury and his Son, but chiefly by their own fault, for by a frolick, much out of season, they would be carried thro' the Streets

Streets in the same Tumbrel wherein the Corpse of the infected were carried.

Another sad Accident happened at the same time at Orleans; a fire broke out at the Convent of the Cordeliers, wherein was the Powder-Mill, whereby the Choir of their Church was entirely destroyed, and several neighbouring Houses shaken; and some people killed, it was unknown who had been the Incendiary, tho' some were arrested upon suspicion, but afterwards released for want of evidence. But for all that, the courage of the Prince and his Adherents was not at all slackened, they provided for every thing necessary inward and outward of the City, and the eighth of August they sent the following Remonstrance to the King, occasioned by the Decree of the Parliament of Paris published on the 27th of July, declaring Rebels those who had risen in Arms as above said. And because of its Singularity, and the strength of the Reasons, to oblige the Reader, I shall transcribe the greatest part thereof.

Charles IX.

1562.

Pope Pius IV.

CVIII.

A sad Accident happened at Orleans.

„ **T**HOUGH the several Writings published heretofore, in the name of his Highness the Prince of Condé, and all the Princes, Lords and others his Adherents, in vindication of their Conduct, are sufficient to evince the justice and equity of their taking up Arms for the King's Service, and the Preservation of his Majesty, as well as for the maintenance of his Edicts, published in behalf of the Reformed Churches of this Kingdom: nevertheless, since the Enemies of God and of the publick Peace, cease not to attack the said Prince and his Adherents by new calumnies, whereby they pretend to oppress his and their Innocence, it is but reasonable, that if

CIX.

The

Prince's last Manifesto.

VGL. II.

K

„ the

Charles
IX.

1562.

Pope Pius

IV.



„ the Wicked are never weary to assail Jus-
 „ tice and Equity, the Good should never be
 „ weary to defend it.

„ Now, whereas by the Sentence given on
 „ the 27th of July in the Parliament of Paris,
 „ they are bold enough to declare Rebels those
 „ who have took up Arms for the King's Ser-
 „ vice, the preservation of the General States
 „ Authority, and to withstand the Violence
 „ and Tyranny of the Lords of Guise and their
 „ Adherents, it is necessary to show forth the
 „ iniquity of that Judgment to Foreigners as
 „ well as to the Natives of this Kingdom; nay,
 „ to transmit it to the remotest Posterity, by
 „ the means of this Remonstrance. For it will
 „ serve as a memorable example of the great per-
 „ versity and corruption of the Enemies of God,
 „ and Persecutors of his Church.

„ By this, I say, it may be seen, how those
 „ who oppose their Errors and Lyes to the holy
 „ Truth of God, are so far besotted, as to pro-
 „ claim seditious, those who endeavour with all
 „ their might to restore Union and the publick
 „ Peace; or to condemn as Rebels those,
 „ who have forsook their ease, exposed their
 „ Goods and their Life, to the end, that the
 „ King should be obeyed, and his Edicts strictly
 „ kept.

„ And to the end, that such a declaration of
 „ Rebellion might be more easily deemed unjust
 „ and calumnious, the Prince and his Adherents
 „ have thought proper to publish the following
 „ Reasons.

„ First, as to the exception of the said Lord,
 „ the Prince's person, his Affection to the King's
 „ Service is too sincere and too great, not to
 „ resent and be wounded by the same weapon
 „ with those who, as he knows perfectly well,
 „ have

„ have never had, nor have as yet any other Charles
„ view in their Actions but the Defence and IX.
„ Preservation of this Crown. And the said 1562.
„ Prince does declare, that far from thinking Pope Pius
„ himself to be gratified by that exception, that IV.
„ contrary-wise he is offended at it, since it is
„ only intended to separate him from so many
„ good and loyal Subjects and Servants to the
„ King.

„ Therefore, being certain before God and
„ Men that their Innocence is such, that all the
„ Lyes and Calumnies of the wicked, are not
„ able to imprint a single Spot of Disobedience
„ and Rebellion in their Actions, no more than
„ in his own; he desires to fare no better than
„ they, having the same Cause to maintain, pro-
„ fessing the same Religion, being of the same
„ Mind and Will with them to lay down his
„ Life for the King's Service, the Preservation
„ of his State, and the Settlement of the true
„ Worship of God in this Kingdom.

„ And as the said Prince cannot, or ought
„ not to be disavowed by those, at the command
„ of whom he had been ready to rise in Arms,
„ so he will not depart from those, who at his
„ request, have armed themselves with him,
„ and with the same Intention.

„ Furthermore, he is too well acquainted with
„ the Devices and Artifices of his Enemies, to
„ be ignorant of their Designs, and the Views
„ they do aim at by such an exception, as it is
„ very easy to judge by the circular Letters they
„ have sent to the several Bayliwicks, wherein
„ his Highness is comprised in the Declaration
„ as well as the others.

„ Now that it may be evident that those
„ only are guilty of Rebellion, who, of their
„ own Authority, have risen in Arms to in-
K 2 „ fringe

Charles
IX.

1562.

Pope Pius
IV.

„ fringe the King's Edicts, and disturb the
 „ Peace of the Kingdom, and not those who
 „ have armed themselves for opposing such per-
 „ nicious an attempt, we shall briefly repeat
 „ here what we have said more at large in our
 „ precedent Writings.

„ Every one knows that the Edict of Janua-
 „ ry had procured so great a tranquillity through-
 „ out all the Kingdom, that there was great
 „ hopes of seeing it restored to its former Hap-
 „ piness and Splendor, when on a sudden, the
 „ Massacre of Vassy perpetrated by the D U K E
 „ OF GUISE's O R D E R S, evinced
 „ plainly, that the said Lord bid open defiance
 „ to the King, and had a mind to subvert the
 „ Kingdom.

„ Every one was surpris'd at such an At-
 „ tempt, none could conceive how a Subject
 „ could be so daring and bold, as to infringe an
 „ Edict of his Prince, and even an Edict made
 „ according to the Deliberations and Petitions
 „ of the General States, authoris'd by the King's
 „ Council, with the most Notable Persons that
 „ could be found in the Kingdom, and register'd
 „ by the Parliaments of the Realm.

„ And tho' the said Prince had a right by his
 „ Birth, and the Rank he holds in the King-
 „ dom, to oppose such Violence, nevertheless,
 „ he forbore from undertaking any thing on
 „ that account, 'till he received a positive order
 „ of his Superiors.

„ Upon which, the said Prince most humbly
 „ beseeches the Queen's most excellent Majesty
 „ to remember, that being at St. Germain-en-
 „ Laye, she got notice of the Views of the
 „ House of Guise, which tended directly to di-
 „ vest her of her Authority, and deprive her
 „ of her most faithful and affectionate Servants,

„ that

„ that they might usurp more easily the Go-
 „ vernment of the Kingdom, to which they
 „ have aspired long ago. The Queen having
 „ got that Intelligence, and likewise of the League
 „ that was on foot and ready to be concluded
 „ by the means of the Spanish Embassador (*m*)
 „ for their Support, and the Execution of their
 „ Scheme, her Sorrow and Vexation was equal
 „ to the merit of the cause, and the danger she
 „ was in. Wherefore one Evening she desired
 „ the said Prince, to assemble as many Gentle-
 „ men as he could, to oppose the effect of an
 „ attempt so dangerous. He obeyed faithfully
 „ the Queen's Command, considering his Duty
 „ towards the King, and the Obligation he was
 „ in of supporting his Crown with all his might.
 „ Now that Obedience of his, has been the
 „ chief ground of all his Conduct afterwards,
 „ opposing himself to those, which the Queen
 „ deemed to be her Enemies. And for a greater
 „ argument of the Suspicion she entertained a-
 „ gainst them, she will be pleased to remember
 „ the Command which she sent to him some
 „ times after, concerning the Secretary Marcel.
 „ Furthermore, when the said Guises had openly
 „ discovered by their dealings at Paris and else-
 „ where, what they had kept concealed hereto-
 „ fore, the Queen not only confirmed, but reite-
 „ rated (by several Letters and Messages) her
 „ Orders to the Prince, to oppose the Violence
 „ they intended to do to her Majesty ; and he
 „ beseeches her to call to her mind, what she had
 „ wrote to him with her own hand, and which
 „ he is now obliged to produce in his own De-
 „ fence, that every one might be convinced of
 „ his Innocency, by reading the very Let-

Charles
IX.
1562.
Pope Pius
IV.

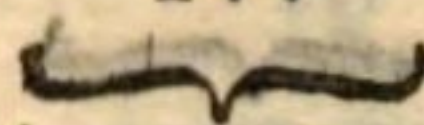
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„ ters

(*m*) See the Queen's Letters above mentioned, to the King's Embassador at Vienne, related by Agricola.

Charles
IX.

1562.

Pope Pius
IV.

ters of her Majesty. For sure she could not have forgotten what she wrote to him from Fontainebleau, in the month of March last, how she recommended to his care the preservation of the King and her own Person, in these very words, *I do recommend to you the Mother and the Children*; nor what she wrote to him at another time by Monsr. De Bouchavanes, when the Guises were at Paris with their Troops, that he ought not to disarm 'till their Enemies had disarmed first, and that she might see what would be the effect of their Conspiracy. Upon which, the said Prince desires that it may please her Majesty, to remember how many times she had told him, that she looked upon what he did as a great piece of Service, which she would imprint in the King's mind, to the end that he should recompense the same when at age.

To which does agree what she said to the Admiral a little while before he left the Court, that she knew him so faithful a Servant to the King, and so affectionate to herself, that she doubted not in the least but that if there was any occasion for it, he would use all possible means for preserving her from the said Guise's Tyranny; as likewise she wrote to him lately by Monsieur De Rambouillet, that she took him for so good a Servant to the King, and Well-wisher to the Welfare of his Kingdom, that she would make use of his Counsels for pacifying the present Troubles.

Besides that, her Discourses with the said Prince and the Lords who attended him near Baugency, are so clear an evidence of her Consent and Approbation, that it would be needless to quote so many other arguments which we have in hand to the same purpose.

For

„ For then in the prefence of seven Knights of Charles
 „ the Order, and fome Secretaries of State, ſhe IX.
 „ gave thanks to the ſaid Prince and his Adhe- 1562
 „ rents, for the great Services they had done to Pope Pius
 „ her, acknowledging that the King's Life and IV.
 „ her own, had been preſerved by their means.
 (*I take this to be a ſimple Compliment, her Life
 was certainly in danger, if we believe Brantome,
 but not that of the King her Son*) „ Theſe things
 „ being duly conſidered, upon what reaſon the
 „ Enemies of the Prince and his Confederates,
 „ ſhall they, I do not ſay, ground their judg-
 „ ment, but only ſettle a bare ſuſpicion of Re-
 „ bellion? By whoſe Authority ſhall they be
 „ proclaimed Rebels? Shall it be by the King's
 „ and Queen's, but it is by their Orders that they
 „ have took up Arms for their Majeſties Pre-
 „ ſervation. It is ſhe who by word of mouth
 „ and letters, and her thanks for the great Ser-
 „ vices they had done to her and the King her
 „ Son, had entertained them in that good-will
 „ to continue their Services. Beſides that, every
 „ one knows that the Enemies of the ſaid Prince
 „ abuſe the King and Queen's name, forcing
 „ them by threatnings to follow their directions,
 „ and to act in a way contrary to their mind;
 „ for that cauſe, the ſaid Prince and his Con-
 „ federates have already proteſted, and do now
 „ ſtill proteſt, by theſe preſents, againſt all E-
 „ dictſ, Decrees, Ordinances whatever, which
 „ may be publiſhed in the King's Name, as long
 „ as his Liberty ſhall be conſtrained by the Vio-
 „ lences and Arms of their Enemies. And what
 „ her Majeſty hath repeated ſo many times by
 „ her writings to the ſaid Prince, is a very plain
 „ indication of the truth of this aſſertion:
 „ ſhe could not grant, ſhe ſays, what they re-
 „ quired, becauſe THE CONTRARY PARTY WAS

Charles
IX. „ THE STRONGEST, AND THE PEOPLE INCEN-
1562. „ SED.

Pope Pius
IV. „ From thence it follows, that the Sentence
„ of Rebellion given, and every thing else done
„ under the King's Name and Authority, against
„ the said Prince and his Confederates, ought to
„ be deemed as done by their Enemies, since
„ the King is in their power, as it is evident
„ even by the Queen's own Confession. Now
„ let every one judge of what force and weight
„ can a doom be, pronounced by the Parties and
„ Enemies of the condemned?

„ But let us see what is that great Crime
„ which they are pleased to term R E B E L-
„ L I O N, and upon what ground they charge
„ with it the said Prince and his Confederates.
„ It is, say they, because they will not lay
„ down their Arms. If it be so, I ask what name
„ shall be given to those who are come in Arms
„ to Court (tho' they had not there a single E-
„ nemy armed against them) and refused to lay
„ down their Arms, tho' the King sent them
„ several Messages on that account, and do still
„ persist in their disobedience, with the same
„ obstinacy and boldness? And who is the man
„ who will lay down his Arms at his Enemy's
„ request and instance, as long as he keeps his
„ Sword in hand to fight him? To ask that the
„ said Prince should disarm, while his Enemies
„ remain armed, is it not to ask, that his Ene-
„ mies become his Masters, that his Goods and
„ Estates should be a prey to their Avarice,
„ and his Life exposed to their Cruelty. In a
„ word, that he should receive the Law at the
„ hands of those, who being without Law,
„ ought to receive it from others? And besides
„ that, is it not to break the Wall, wherewith
„ it has pleased God to surround the Reformed
„ Churches

„ Churches of this Kingdom for their defence,
 „ and to leave them exposed to the Rapacious-
 „ nefs of those who have been, and are still
 „ thirsty after their Blood?

Charles
 IX.
 1562.
Pope Pius
 IV.

„ Furthermore, every one knows that the
 „ said Prince has always offered to disarm, when-
 „ ever his Enemies shall have done the same,
 „ and shall have restored the King to his former
 „ Liberty. And was it not reasonable, that
 „ those who had first risen in Arms without
 „ Order, without Authority, nay against the
 „ King's Orders, and against his Edicts, should
 „ be the first to lay them down, before others,
 „ who have armed by the King and Queen's
 „ positive Orders, Command, Consent and Au-
 „ thority, for the Defence of their Majesties,
 „ and of the Edicts, against the oppression and
 „ violence of others?

„ In short, let every one examine all that the
 „ said Prince has done, and it will be found,
 „ that his Answers and Protests, his Offers and
 „ all his Conduct are as many witnesses of his
 „ Innocence. For has he not endeavoured to
 „ restore the Peace of the Kingdom, and deliver
 „ it from the threatening danger it is in of its
 „ utter ruin? What reasonable terms of Peace
 „ has he ever refused? or rather, what reasonable
 „ terms has he not offered himself? How many
 „ times has he not endeavoured to avoid the
 „ introduction of foreign Troops in the King-
 „ dom, for fear of the consequences which at-
 „ tend them? Has he not informed the foreign
 „ Princes of the State of the Kingdom, espe-
 „ cially the Allies of this Crown, desiring them
 „ to interpose their good offices for composing
 „ the differences which were arisen, and settling
 „ a solid and lasting Peace and Tranquillity?
 „ With what Modesty has he not behaved him-
 self

Charles
IX.
1562.
Pope Pius
IV.

„ self in the Cities, in order to preserve to the
 „ Inhabitants Liberty of Conscience, and the
 „ free Profession of their Religion, as much as
 „ it had been in his power? Can he be charged
 „ with any act of Violence or Injustice?
 „ Nevertheless, his Enemies storming the Ci-
 „ ties, have not been satisfied with depriving the
 „ Inhabitants of the benefit of the Januarian
 „ Edict in regard of their Religion, or with the
 „ plundering of their Houses, but they have
 „ committed so many murders, that the Streets
 „ have been paved with dead bodies, and the
 „ ground has been dyed with the innocent blood
 „ they have shed.
 „ Now let every one judge, who are those,
 „ who by their Deeds and Actions deserve to
 „ be proclaimed R E B E L S, either the Prince
 „ and his Confederates, who have took up
 „ Arms for the maintenance of the King's E-
 „ dicts granted by the advice, and according to
 „ the Petition of the General States, for his own
 „ and the Queen Mother's Liberty and the Wel-
 „ fare of the Kingdom; or their Enemies, who
 „ having risen in Arms in defiance of his Ma-
 „ jesty's Orders, have infringed his Edicts,
 „ plundered his Towns, murdered his Subjects,
 „ and published Ordinances quite contrary to the
 „ King's, and especially to the Edict of January,
 „ so solemnly made and sworn as abovesaid, re-
 „ ceived generally throughout the Kingdom, and
 „ much applauded by the Foreigners.
 „ These things being impartially considered,
 „ it is plain that the said Prince and his Adhe-
 „ rents have been falsely declared Rebels by those
 „ who are truly such themselves; or seditious,
 „ by those who since King Henry II's Death,
 „ have been the authors of all the Troubles that
 „ happened in this Kingdom; or guilty of High
 „ Treason,

„ Treason, by those who deprive themselves the
„ King's Majesty, make void his Ordinances,
„ and abuse his Name and Authority, for esta-
„ blishing their Grandeur upon the ruin of his
„ own. Those only are guilty of High Treason
„ towards God, who have manifested by
„ their Actions, that Ambition alone was their
„ God, Gold their Religion, and the Pleasures
„ of this World, their Paradise and ultimate
„ Happiness: who have proclaimed war against
„ the Son of God, his Word, and Those who
„ follow its Prescriptions, whose Houses are full
„ of Rapines, and their Hands all bloody with
„ their Cruelties. Those only are guilty of
„ High-Treason towards Men, who have vio-
„ lated the King's Edicts, and seized upon his
„ Person by main force; and what shall I say
„ more, Those are guilty of High-Treason, who
„ of late had plotted in Provence to seize upon
„ that Country, by the means of one Lauris
„ President in the Parliament of Aix, Complice
„ with one Fabricius Cerbellonne Governor of
„ Avignon, who were to raise fifteen thousand
„ Men, of which the said Fabrice engaged him-
„ self to furnish a thousand foot and two hun-
„ dred horse, and all these Troops were to be
„ disposed of, at the pleasure of the Duke of
„ Guise; which Conspiracy having been dis-
„ covered and fully proved in the Parliament of
„ Aix, Entragues and Laidet, two of the Chief
„ Leaders, were beheaded for it, by Sentence of
„ that Court. And if this is not enough, I shall
„ add, that the said Guises had made a like plot
„ in Dauphiné by the means of Captain Mantil,
„ in hopes to raise that Province in Arms, as
„ well as that of Provence, and to have them
„ both at their devotion. However, those
„ Plots contrived to abolish the preaching of the
„ pure

Charles
IX.

1562.

Pope Pius
IV.

Charles

IX.

1562.

Pope Pius

IV.



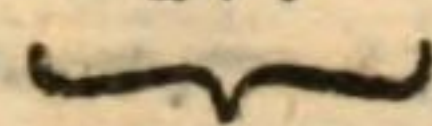
„ pure Word of God, those Levies of Troops,
 „ that solemn Oath taken to march at the Duke
 „ of Guise's Command, do proclaim aloud the
 „ said Guise and his Complices, Rebels, Sedi-
 „ tious and Traitors ; and on the contrary, that
 „ those are Trusty and Faithfull Servants to the
 „ King, who have opposed and do oppose them-
 „ selves vigorously to their Rebellion, Seditions
 „ and Attempts against the King's Majesty and
 „ the Welfare of the Kingdom.,,

Then he inveighs against the Parliament of Paris, that had condemned his Adherents as Rebels to the King, and he sets forth in their native colour the Injustice, Disloyalty, and Corruption of that Court of Justice, who received bribes, or were easily work'd into a base Compliance with every thing that the Enemies of the State desired.

„ You, GENTLEMEN, says the Prince, who
 „ call yourselves Judges ; I desire to know what
 „ is Injustice and Corruption, if the Judgment
 „ you have past is not so ? for what form of
 „ Justice have you observed ? Where are the
 „ reasons by which the condemned have been
 „ convicted ? What is become of that antient
 „ and wholesome Law, by which an Enemy is
 „ forbidden to sit as Judge in any Tryal ? Why
 „ did you take upon you to judge those who
 „ have challenged you, having as many good
 „ Reasons for it, as there are Defects, Injustice
 „ and Corruption in you ? And indeed was you
 „ not deservedly challenged, you, that have ex-
 „ pelled from your Company all those whom
 „ you suspected not to be favourable to your
 „ Designs ? You, who by a Decree of the last
 „ day of June, have armed the furious Mob a-
 „ gainst all divine and human right, nay, con-
 „ trary to your own Laws and the universal
 „ Welfare

„ Welfare of the Kingdom? You, that have Charles
 „ proclaimed guilty of High-Treason the Mi- IX.
 „ nisters of the Reformed Churches, whom 1562.
 „ the King had received under his royal Pro- Pope Pius
 „ tection by the Edict of January, and who had IV.
 „ taken oath for that purpose in your hands?
 „ You, that have been so daring as to declare
 „ to the King, even with great threatnings by
 „ Messieurs Chambon and La Faye your Depu-
 „ ties, that you found very strange the agree-
 „ ment which his Majesty had a mind to make
 „ between the said Prince and his Adversaries,
 „ and that you would never consent to it, nor
 „ endure it? Did you not betray by such a step,
 „ your hatred against the said Prince and his
 „ Adherents? Did you not consequently debar
 „ yourselves from being Judges in their Cause?
 „ What more shall I say, let us take a view of
 „ the chief City of the Kingdom wherein your
 „ Tribunal stands, let us take notice of the Bar-
 „ barities committed every day by the Popu-
 „ lace, with your Knowledge and Approbation,
 „ nay, at your own Instigation? Did you not
 „ reject the Marshal of Brisac's request, when
 „ he desired you to publish some wholesome
 „ Ordinance, by which these popular Commo-
 „ tions and Riots could be suppressed? Is it not
 „ a farther Indication, that you do not intend
 „ to do justice any longer, but to make use of
 „ force and violence, that most part of you from
 „ being Presidents and Counsellors are become
 „ Gendarmes, and changing their Pen for a
 „ Sword, and their long Gowns for a Corset,
 „ do the office of Captains, walk publickly in
 „ Arms, and act in every other respect, in a way
 „ as much unworthy and unsuitable to their
 „ Profession, as becoming to the corruption of
 „ their Morals? Let then every one consider
 „ well

Chalres
IX.
1562.
Pope Pius
IV.



„ well the premisses; and if it is true, that Rebels
„ are not fit for judging concerning Rebellion,
„ nor Disturbers of the publick Peace for taking
„ cognizance of Sedition, nor Infringers of the
„ King's Edicts concerning the crime of High-
„ Treason. If it is so, says I, That those who
„ deserve to be condemned, are not fit for con-
„ demning others; then you cannot deny but
„ those you have condemned, have a just reason,
„ not only to challenge you, but likewise to call
„ you to account in due time, and inflict upon
„ you the punishment you deserve. „

The rest of this Remonstrance includes a further declaration of the unjust and heinous Proceedings of the said Court of Parliament against the said Prince and his Adherents; a solemn Protestation of their Innocence, and the Uprightness of their Intention and Designs, and Exhortation to the Auxiliaries, German or Switzers professing the Protestant or Reformed Religion, and who were come to the Triumvirate's Assistance, to consider, whether it was honourable for them, to fight for a bad Cause against a good one; for the King's Enemies against his faithful Subjects; foreign Princes, against a Prince of the Blood; for the Pope and the Church of Rome, against the Professors of the pure Gospel of our Lord Jesus; and not to expose themselves by so doing to the Scorn of their common Enemy. Then follows a solemn Promise of the Prince to all his Adherents present or to come, to stand by them to his last Breath, to protect them, and spare neither his Goods nor his Life for their Defence, exhorting them to follow his Example, and tread in his Steps. It was subscribed, LEWIS OF BOURBON (*n*).

It

(*n*) Beza liv. vi. p. iii.—127,

It is certain that the matter of this Remon-
 strance, was entirely matter of fact, which cannot
 be, nor is not denied by the best Historians of
 the Roman Church. The Triumvirs had been
 excluded from the Council by the General States,
 until they had accounted for their past Admi-
 nistration, especially under Francis II. and re-
 funded the vast Sums of Money they had extor-
 tioned from the King, one way or another.

Charles IX.
 1562.
 Pope Pius IV.

It is certain, that Queen Catherine had been
 named Regent of the Kingdom, during the Mi-
 nority of the King her Son, by the said States.
 It is certain that the Duke of Guise had infringed
 the Edict of January, by the violences committed
 at Vassy. It is certain that the said Duke, with
 the Constable and St. Andrew, had armed con-
 trary to the King's positive Orders, to which they
 had shown themselves scornfully disobedient. It
 is certain, that they had carried by main force,
 his Majesty to Paris, &c. So much the Roman
 Catholick Historians do own. But then they
 pretend, that it was a wholesome violence, abso-
 lutely necessary to save the State, and especially
 the Church. A wonder indeed! if the State
 cannot be preserved without subverting the fun-
 damental Laws of the State, if two or three
 Men understand better the true interest of the
 State, than the wisest Men of the Kingdom as-
 sembled in a Committee for that very purpose,
 viz. to consider what was the true Interest of
 the State, nay, than the States General them-
 selves!

That Remonstrance served only to exasperate
 the Triumvirs, at whose Instances, several Cen-
 sures and Excommunications were published by
 the Bishops and Officials in their respective Dio-
 ceses, against those who had been present in the
 Reformed Assemblies.

But with-
 out any
 Success.

Letters

Charles IX. 1562. Pope Pius IV. Letters were likewise directed in the King's name from Blois to the Sheriffs of Orleans, commanding them to attend at Court, but the Prince refused to grant them leave, and he wrote to the King on the 13th of August, to acquaint his Majesty with the reasons of his opposition.

CX. *A Warrant issued against the Admiral, &c.* On the 18th of the same month, the Parliament of Paris published a Warrant, at the request of the King's Attorney, against the Admiral, D'Andelot, La Rochefoucault, the Prince of Porcian, Montgommery, the Viscount of Rohan, Genlis, Grammont, Piennes, Soubize, Morvilliers, Yvoy, Mouy, and many other Gentlemen then at Orleans; as likewise against many Counsellors, Judges, Officers, Sheriffs and Magistrates; for seizing and bringing them Prisoners to Paris, and if absent for summoning them to make their appearance there in three short days time, upon pain of Banishment and Forfeiture of all their Goods and Estates for the King's use, and of being deemed guilty of the Crimes and Misdemeanors laid to their charge in case of non-appearance.

Great Disorders occasioned by it at Paris. That Decree occasioned a terrible disorder, especially at Paris, where it was enough to be called HUGUENOT for being drowned in the River, of whatever Religion one should be. Two Magistrates, one of Pontoise and the other of Senlis (Men of irreproachable Life) being charged with having had some Sermons and Christnings in their Houses, were hanged for it, and the Mob was so enraged against them, that they dragged their Corpse along the Streets, then cut off their heads and burnt them, after having made a foot-ball of them for a long while. Many Prisoners detained for Religion's sake were also condemned to the Gallies, but rescued upon the Road.

Those

Those Disorders were the same in all the Country round about Paris, especially in the Country of Vexin, where almost all the Gentle-
men's Houses were plundered, and several horrid Murders committed. All which was done under a shew of Justice; one Roffet Provost of Pontoise running up and down the Country with about three hundred armed Men, to seize or murder as many as came in his way, suspected of being Reformed. Amongst the persecuted in those parts, there was the Lord of Berthi, whose house having been broke open, they murdered one of his Children, and the rest were carried to Prison, after having bruised them all over, without sparing his own Lady, they were detained in goal for a long while, in great Wants and Miseries, and released after much ado after the first Civil-War was over. Monsieur de Hodrencourt, another Gentleman of the Vexine, being returned from Orleans to refresh himself in his house, was assaulted in it by a Company of Foot, that escorted the Artillery going to Rouën, and after a stout resistance, being at last forced by the fire to jump out of the window in the Street, and from thence to throw himself into the Seine to cross it by swimming; as he was near the opposite shore, he received an Arquebuss-shot through his head, and died upon the spot; his two Daughters were put stark naked upon one of the barks, and carried in that condition into the Prisons of Vernon, from whence however they were released the next day.

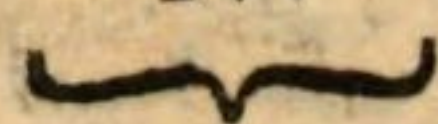
All this while the Prince sent several Detachments, who made frequent IncurSIONS in the Enemy's Country; in one of them they went as far as Chambourg near Blois; at another time, they summoned Pithiniers, took by storm and thundered the Castle of Laz, belonging to the

Charles IX.
1562.
Pope Pius IV.

Several
cruel Mur-
ders com-
mitted a-
bout Paris.

CXI.
The
Prince's
Army made
several
Sallies up-
on the E-
nemy by De-

Charles
IX.
1562.
Pope Pius
IV.



Marshal of St. Andrew. But the most memorable of all, was that of the first of September, which would have been of infinite advantage to the Prince's Party, had not Yvoy Governor of Bourges been bribed by the Triumvirs, (as it was rumoured.) It happened as follows, his Highness having got intelligence, that thirty-six Carts loaded with Gun-powder, six Cannons, and a vast quantity of Bombs, were upon the road from Paris to Bourges which was besieged, sent the Admiral on the last day of August; he went out of Orleans at eight o'clock in the evening with eight hundred Horse, and made such diligence, that the next day at noon, he met the Convoy at a League's distance from Chateaudun, escorted by four Companies of Gendarmes and two Ensigns of Foot, who being assaulted briskly by one hundred and twenty Horse only, commanded by Genlis and de Mouy, were routed at the first Onset, and pursued some of them as far as Chateaudun, and others as far as Chartres, many were killed, and as many taken Prisoners. As to the Foot, all of them were almost cut to pieces. And whereas, as soon as the Carriers had seen the Admiral and his Troops coming, they had cut the Harneſſes and fled on the Horses, the Admiral was obliged to set fire to the Powder; but as it was impossible to make the Cannon burst, he left them upon the road. Throgmorton the English Embaſſador, who was going to meet the King at his Camp before Bourges, was amongst the Prisoners, and was brought to Orleans, where he met with a most honourable and gracious reception from the Prince, and stayed in that City 'till the Battle of Dreux.

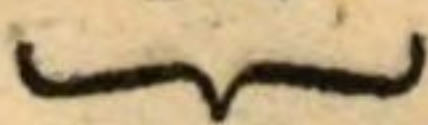
That happy Event caused great Joy to the Orleanese, they were in hopes that it would occasion the raising of the siege before Bourges, but
it

it happened quite the contrary, and the very same day it was surrendered by composition; I am going to give a short account of that City, and of its Condition from the beginning of this Year 'till this time.

Charles
IX.
1562.
Pope Pius
IV.

There were two Parties in that City, as almost in all others of the Kingdom, one of the Reformed, and the other of Catholicks. They had lived peaceably together since July 1561, and the Edict of January being strictly kept, the Reformed, far from being disturbed in the Enjoyment of the Privileges granted to them by the same, held their religious Assemblies even *within the City*, without any opposition, the common People being used to it. But when the News of the Massacre of Vassy came into the City, each Party began to stand upon his guard. Nevertheless the publick peace was not at all disturbed, 'till the Bailif of Berry being too hot headed, seized upon the great Tower of the City, which he stored immediately and openly with all sorts of Ammunitions; of which the Reformed having sent their Complaints to the King and Queen-Mother, Orders under the Privy-Seal were sent to the Bailif to desist, but instead of obeying, he received in that Tower several Gentlemen known to be sworn Enemies to the Reformed; at which the Inhabitants of both Religions were so much provoked, that they agreed to guard the City-Gates by themselves, with an equal number of Reformed and Catholicks. But that Expedient proved to be uneffectual, for those who had shut up themselves in the Tower, having planted some Artillery-pieces against the City, no body durst come near it, those whom they liked excepted. Besides, that the Canons of the Cathedral made provision of Arms and Men, and caused the great Gates of their Cloysters to be mured up,

CXII.
*An Account of
Bourges.*

Charles
IX.1562.
Pope Pius
IV.

leaving only a small Door open. The City of Orleans having been seized upon by the Prince at this time, Monterud Deputy Governour of that City and of Berry, came to Bourges, and at first gave very fair words to the Reformed Inhabitants, but it was only a Bait, since the Bailif discontinued not keeping Correspondence with several Gentlemen of the Neighbourhood, all sworn Enemies to the Reformed, and who threatened them to come with main force in three days, and ravish under their eyes their Wives and Daughters. Therefore the Reformed, seeing that they could not trust in the Fidelity of many of their Fellow-Citizens, sent to the Prince at Orleans, beseeching him to receive them under his Protection. He sent to Bourges Monsieur de Selves, with credential Letters dated the 17th of May, exhorting the Reformed to be stedfast in their Religion, and to keep strictly the Edict of January; he exhorted likewise the Catholics not to molest their Fellow-Citizens, nor to join themselves with the Disturbers of the publick Peace, and the Infringers of the King's Edicts, who abused the King's Minority and Authority. Finally he exhorted them both to live together in a strict Union and Concord, and offered to help them in case of need.

These Letters being read in the Town-house before the Lieutenant-General for the Civil, with the Advocates and the King's Attorneys, they answered, that they never had any other Intention or Desire than to live according to these Instructions. They sent notice of the Prince's Message, and of their Resolution to the Bailif, desiring him not to receive in the Tower, any foreign or suspected Person. He answered the next day, that he had done nothing but by the King's Command; and that he intended to receive

ceive into the Tower several Gentlemen of the Neighbourhood, (who were known to be sworn Enemies to the Reformed) which Answer put them in a greater Trouble than before. Mons. de Selves having assembled the chief Inhabitants with the Sheriffs at the Lieutenant's House, they agreed upon certain Articles, which were to be strictly kept by both Parties, giving respectively twelve Securities one to another, for the due Performance of them. But the Clergy refused obstinately their Consent, and de Selves went back to Orleans.

Charles IX.

1562.

Pope Pius

IV.

At the same time, a Man was arrested at Orleans, bearing some Letters and Memoirs directed to the Duke of Guise and the Cardinal of Lorraine; they were desired to send to Bourges three hundred Horse and three or four Companies of Foot, by which means they promised to extirpate immediately all the Huguenots out of Berry. Upon this, the Prince dispatched immediately a Messenger to the Reformed of Bourges, to warn them of the threatening Danger, and sent likewise the Count of Montgomery with a hundred and twenty Horse, who made such diligence, that he entered the City the second day in the morning after his parting from Orleans. The Reformed Inhabitants put themselves in a posture of defence, if there was any occasion for it; but Montgomery, having caused his Trumpet to publish in the cross Streets, in the Prince's name, that none should stir on pain of Death, he was admitted as Governor of the City, without the least Commotion. The Archbishop (a decrepit Man) was so much frightened at this change, that, tho' he had not been able to walk for four Years past, he walked then to the great Tower, causing all his Plate to be carried there before him. The Canons being summoned by Montgomery,

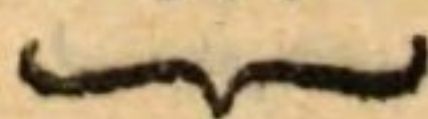
Charles

IX.

1562.

Pope Pius

IV.



gommery, opened the Cloyster's great Gates, and that Count took his Lodgings at the Dean's House; then he set guards at the City-Gates, and in the publick Places, and on the evening, Thanks were publickly given to God for that happy Success. The next day the 28th of the same month, having received three Companies of Foot, he disarmed all the Catholicks, but without any Violence; the same day the Images were pulled down, the Relicks were seized upon, and inventorized in presence of the said Count, of the Magistrates, of some Goldsmiths, and publick Notaries, and afterwards delivered to the Count. The same day the Tower was summoned to surrender, and upon their refusal, Montgomery (tho' without any hopes of succeeding so soon, because of its Strength, and the vast quantity of all sorts of Ammunition it was stored with) feigned as if he was willing to attack and batter it, having caused some large pieces of Artillery to be drawn near, and having lodged some Arquebusiers in a Steeple, that commanded the Court of the Tower; at which the besieged were so much frightened, that they surrendered by Capitulation, and the Count put the Tower under the guard of the Sheriffs, to keep it under the King's obedience.

Several Cities and Towns of Berry, having got notice of the Tower's Reddition, offered to Montgomery, to receive Garrisons, but that General thought not proper to accept that Offer, though it would have proved of a vast Advantage for the Defence and Preservation of Bourges: and having received seventy one thousand, five hundred forty three Livres, which were in the Custody of the King's Receiver-General and of some others, he went back to Orleans, and delivered the said Sum to the Prince, with the most part of the

the Relicks, having left the rest, which belonged to the holy Chapel, at Bourges.

The City being in that condition, and the Prince seeing that the Triumvirate's Army, instead of coming directly to him, endeavoured to seize on a Bridge a-crofs the Loire, to pass into the Country of Sologn, and withal being sensible of what Importance was the City of Bourges, he commanded Yvoy, Brother to the Lord of Genlis, to repair thither speedily with two thousand Foot. He being arrived, made the best Preparations that could be desired for a long and stout Resistance. On the 15th of August, the City was summoned by a Trumpet from the King to surrender, which having been refused, the Triumvirate's Camp removed nearer the City. Yvoy having commanded the Inhabitants of the Suburbs, to remove into the City with their best Effects, caused the said Suburbs to be burnt to the ground.

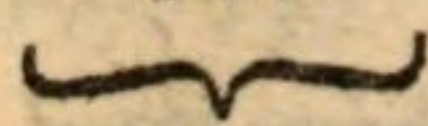
Charles IX.
1562.
Pope Pius IV.

On the 18th, the Van of the Besiegers arrived near the Bridge of Orran, and were routed by the Besieged, who sallied upon them; the 19th all the Army encamped before the Place, which they began to batter, and continued with great fury 'till the 22d, when the Besiegers seeing that they would hardly force the City, and even that they wanted Gun-powder, they undertook to tempt the Besieged by fair Words and Promises.

The Duke of Nemours was sent to them for that purpose, but being unsuccessful, and the Triumvirs having got notice of the Admiral's Expedition above mentioned, they sent the Count Rhingrave, who had a long Conference with Yvoy, and very likely he prevailed upon him; for a little after, a Trumpet was sent to the City, who having assured them of the King's Arrival

Charles
IX.

1562.

Pope Pius
IV.

in his Camp, required only two Things, viz. That he could report to his Majesty, that he had heard from the Soldiers own mouths, that they did not fight against the King. Secondly, that he should be brought to the Archbishop, to know of himself what Usage he received.

These things being granted by Yvoy, the Trumpet was led upon the Rampires near the Battery, and having asked the Soldiers for whom they did fight? they answered for the King, and cried so loud, LONG LIFE TO THE KING, that they were heard from the Camp. As to the Archbishop, then lodged in the Deanery, he answered, that he was not ill used, as it had been falsely reported to the King, but that his Palace had been destroyed, that he had lost part of his Plate, and had been obliged to lend two hundred Crowns.

Then the Queen seeing that every thing concurred to her Satisfaction, and being intreated by the Triumvirs, to grant whatever Demands the Besieged could make, (for they knew very well that they would perform but what they should like) she sent for Yvoy, but he would not go without the Consent of his Captains and the Inhabitants, which he obtained on condition, that the Prince should be first acquainted with every thing that be proposed in that Conference, to the end, that nothing should be done without his Will and Consent.

The next day, Yvoy being admitted into the King's Presence, was strongly solicited to capitulate, and very likely he made but a very slight defence, being cautious only to save the appearances, and to engage the Inhabitants to consent to his Agreement. Therefore, having agreed upon certain Articles (in which doing he had gone further than had been allowed by his Captains and

and the the Inhabitants) he stipulated this Condition, that the Prince should have notice of them, which was granted, and the Queen sent a Gentleman express to the Prince; but the matter had been so well contrived, that that Messenger was stopt upon the road by the Duke of Nemours's Orders; it is not certain whether Yvoy was not consenting to it. So as the Prince could not answer, since he knew nothing of these Transactions, on the first of September, the Queen-Mother sent the Marshal of Montmorancy to know Yvoy's last Resolution, but he found the matter in such forwardness, that the Articles were already agreed upon, and had been signed the day before, which was the last of August.

Charles IX.
1562.
Pope Pius IV.

By these Articles, Yvoy, the Captains and Soldiers, and the Inhabitants had their Lives and Goods safe, with Liberty of Conscience as to their Religion, without being molested on account of their taking up Arms, or of their Religion, or of any thing done in that occasion.

It surrenders by Capitulation.

The Garrison was allowed to come out with all the military marks of Honour, they were promised full Security in the King's Camp, and at liberty to serve in his Army or to retire elsewhere provided it should be in a place commanded by the King's own Officers, and that they should promise upon their Oath not to bear Arms for the future against his Majesty. Yvoy with the Officers, were admitted to kiss the King's hand; he was farther allowed to go to the Prince to draw back his Oath.

That Capitulation being signed by Yvoy, there remained nothing more but to perform the Articles. Therefore on the same day, the first of September, the Prince of La Roche-sur-Yon entered in the City, and at one o'clock in the Afternoon

Yvoy's Disgrace.

Charles IX. 1562. Pope Pius IV.  Afternoon, the Garrison began to march out, and went twelve miles far from the place, where many took party in the Triumvirate's Army, while the rest fled to Orleans, where they arrived, after having escaped many Dangers. As to Yvoy, who was arrived in one of the Suburbs, the Prince having been told that he desired to come in the City, to give an account of his Conduct; his own Brother Genlis required that he should be tried and punished according to his Demerits, and the Prince's Council were very near to condemn him, but at last he was ordered to retire, which he did.

In the mean while the King had made his publick Entry in Bourges, wherein he was received with loud Acclamations of the Magistrates and the People; his Majesty caused a Proclamation to be published, forbidding all the Soldiery or others of his Attendance, to do any Hurt or Damage to the Inhabitants, of what Religion soever, either in their Person or their Goods, on pain of Death. But for all that, the Inhabitants were taxed to twenty thousand Livres, for the Expences of the War, which Sum was raised for the most part on the Reformed. The King staid but five days at Bourges, from whence he went with the Army to besiege Rouën, whither we shall follow him presently.

The Capitulation not kept.

The King was no sooner gone, but all those who were suspected for their Religion, were ordered to avoid the City, their Goods having been plundered; and even some of them were murdered, and many wounded as they came out of the City. All this was done by the Duke of Guise and the Constable's Orders, without the King's knowledge. Being not satisfied with such ill Usage, they charged them with three things. First, That since they were gone out of the City, they had endeavoured to surprize it.

it. Secondly, That they had hindered the Peasants from bringing Provisions into it. Thirdly, That they were Debtors of the Sum of twenty thousand Livres. Under those Pretences, which were entirely false, they sent to goal as many as they could find in their way.

Charles
IX.
1562.
Pope Pius
IV.

Furthermore, they published an Ordinance whereby it was forbidden to the Reformed to talk together, either in the City or in the Fields, if they were more than two together. Such was the Condition of Bourges, which lasted not only 'till the Edict of Peace in 1563, but some time after (o).

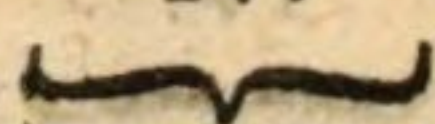
The King, as we have said, was set out with his Army of twelve thousand Foot and three thousand Horse strong, on the 6th of September, and had took the road of Normandy in order to besiege Rouën. That step may seem extraordinary; it was more natural to go and lay Siege to Orleans, where the Prince with the Chief of his Adherents and his main Forces were in a great Consternation for the loss of Bourges; the taking of that City and of the Chief, would have put an end to the Civil War. It was the opinion of the Constable and of the Duke of Guise, but the Queen-Mother was of a contrary Opinion, and caused the Siege of Rouën to be resolved upon for the following Reasons.

CXIII.
*Why the
Army
marched
to Rouën
rather
than to
Orleans.*

Briquemaut who had been sent by the Prince into England, had concluded a Treaty in his Highness's name with Queen Elizabeth, wherein there was some Articles much prejudicial to the Kingdom, not being able to avoid it.

That Princess, who was not behind any Prince then reigning in Europe for her great Abilities, had already settled and well strengthened her Authority in her own Dominions, and by the wise and

(o) Dinoth. lib. ii. Beza liv. vi. Thuan. lib. xxx.

Charles
IX.1562.
Pope Pius
IV.

and useful Regulations she had made for Trade, had entirely won the Love and Esteem of her Subjects. Her chief Care was to improve all means for preserving and increasing them both; therefore she thought, that the surest way for obtaining that end, was to open a Gate for her People, by which they might enter again into the Kingdom of France.

She hated particularly the Duke of Guise, not only because he commanded the French Army at the taking of Calais, but above all, because Mary Queen of Scots his Neice, who could not support herself, but by the Power which the House of Guise had at Court and in the Kingdom of France.

Besides that, she had a new Grudge against that House, she was acquainted with the great Efforts the Duke of Guise had done at Rome to have her excommunicated, and declared incapable of succeeding to the Crown of England, and to give a new Life to the Catholick Party of this Kingdom, in behalf of the young Queen of Scotland his Neice. Therefore, as much out of her own Inclination, as out of her own Interest and those of her Subjects: Elizabeth could not be more favourably disposed than she was in behalf of the Reformed of France, and of the Prince of Condé their Chief.

She was likewise in a condition to afford them speedy and powerful Succours, because for some of the late Years, she had laid out most part of her Revenues in building of Ships and Men of War, that she might be independant of the Republicks of Venice, Genoa, Lubeck, Hamburg, and Dantzick, who were used to supply King Henry her Father with them; she had cast a great quantity of Cannon, bought Arms, stored her Magazines with abundance of Ammunition of all

all forts, augmented her Garrisons, and strengthened her Places bordering on Scotland, and since the last Year, seeing the Troubles of France increased, she had armed by Land and Sea to be ready at all Events.

Charles
IX.
1562.
Pope Pius
IV.

She answered favourably to Briquemaut and the new Vidame of Chartres the Prince's Envoys, and promised them to support him with all her might; there was no Difficulty but in the manner.

CXIV.
Queen Elizabeth's
Treaty
with the
Prince of
Conde.

These two Lords asked Troops and Money, she consented to their Request; but she declared withal, that she would grant neither, unless they would give her some Places for the Security of her Troops, and that they should engage themselves, that in case they became Masters of Calais, they would restore that Town to the Crown of England.

These Propositions having been sent to the Prince, they were examined in his Council, many were offended at them, and said it would be better to take any other course, than to deliver any Place to the mortal Enemies of France.

That such a step would reflect a Shame and Ignominy upon their Party, and expose them to the Scorn and Execration of every true Frenchman. Nevertheless, after many Debates, as they saw no other way of avoiding the threatening Danger they were in, of falling into the hands of their Enemies, they sent full Power to the Envoys, to do whatever they should think fit. So the Treaty was signed at London upon the following Terms.

First, That Havre de Grace should be delivered to the Queen of England, that she should keep in it a Garrison of three thousand Men, and that no French Soldier should remain in that Place

Charles
IX.1562.
Pope Pius
IV.

Place without the English Governor or Commander's Consent.

Secondly, That she should restore that Place to the King when after the War, and by the Prince's Mediation, Calais should be restored to the Crown of England; that she should send three thousand Men more to assist the Prince in the Defence of Rouën and Dieppe.

Thirdly, That she should pay to the Prince one hundred thousand Crowns, seventy thousand to be paid down at the Delivery of Havre de Grace, and thirty thousand a Month after, besides forty thousand more for the Garrisons of Dieppe and Rouën.

Fourthly, That she or the Prince should never treat with the contrary Party without the mutual Consent of both.

These were the principal Articles of that Treaty. The same day it was signed, Elizabeth published a Manifesto, declaring the Reasons which obliged her to assist the Reformed.

*That Princess's
Manifesto.*

She said, „ Her Intention in sending Troops „ into Normandy, was not to recover that „ Province, the antient Patrimony of her An- „ cestors, and unjustly wrested from them, „ but to preserve it for the King of France du- „ ring his Minority, and rescue it from the „ Ambition and Tyranny of the Princes of „ Lorrain. That she was the more concerned „ to endeavour to prevent that Province falling „ into their hands; as it was evident their De- „ sign was to seize the Ports of Normandy, and „ from thence invade her own Dominions, after „ the Extirpation of the Reformed in France. „ That for these Reasons, she thought herself „ obliged to assist the young King, hinder his „ Subjects from being oppressed by the Guises, „ protect

„ protect the Professors of the Reformed Religion, and provide for her own Safety (p).

Charles IX.

1562.

Pope Pius IV.

There is a Mistake in Rapin's History about the time when that Treaty was made with Queen Elizabeth. He says, *That the Reformed having been unsuccessful in the first Campaign, sent the Vidame of Chartres to Elizabeth*; now it is certain that Briquemaut and the Vidame of Chartres, were sent to England at the beginning of the first Campaign, viz. in July, or at the beginning of August.

As to the Reflections he makes on Queen Elizabeth's Manifesto, I leave to the judicious and disinterested Reader to judge how far they are just and reasonable; and I do appeal to himself, whether King James I. could have so good and just Reasons for undertaking the Protection and Defence of the Reformed of France or the Protestants of Germany, nevertheless he upbraids that Prince with a kind of neglect; *Certainly, says he, James's Conduct, who in some Men's Opinion passed for the Solomon of his Age, was very extraordinary. Under colour of his being in peace with all the World, he meddled not with any foreign Affairs. He beheld without concern FRANCE openly labouring the Destruction of the Huguenots, &c.* † But what could that Prince do in that case? he ought to follow the Example of Queen Elizabeth, that is very likely what Rapin meant; then if it be so, he ought not to have censured that Princess's Conduct; let this be said by the way.

CXV.

That Treaty with Queen Elizabeth gave new *Effects of* life to the Reformed, tho' it produced another *that Tre- effect^y.*

(p) Beza. Thuan. Castelnau.

† Compare what Rapin says upon Elizabeth's Manifesto, with what he says on King James I. in the Year 1616, and King Charles I. in the Year 1626.

Charles
IX.
1562
Pope Pius
IV.

effect upon several Gentlemen, who could not endure to see Foreigners put in possession of any part of the Kingdom. Therefore, that Treaty served as a Pretence to some like De Piennes, to forsake the Prince and follow the Triumvirate's Party, while some others as Morvilliers, who was Commander at Rouën for the Prince, resigned his Commission, and without siding with either, retired to one of his Country-Seats in Piccardy.

It was the Intelligence the Queen-Mother got of that Treaty, that made her to resolve upon the siege of Rouën, and the very same thing produced a great Alteration in her Mind towards the Prince and the Reformed. She and the King of Navarr made the Constable and the Duke of Guise sensible of what great Importance it was, that the English should not make themselves masters of the chief City of Normandy, for were they once settled in it, Paris it self would be in danger; that the Siege of Orleans would take a long time, that in the mean while the Queen of England would send as many Troops as she pleased into Normandy, and conquer that Province with the help of the Reformed, which were in a vast number in it; that the Duke of Aumale having but few Troops with him, could not be able to oppose these Undertakings, and so they ought to be prevented by all means.

That siege was then resolved upon, and the Army marched that way. The King of Navarr left some Troops by the way in Chateaudun, Baugency, Pluviers, Estampes, Chartres and Jiville, to block up Orleans, hinder the Provisions from coming in, and put a stop to the Incursions of the Garrison.

The

The Army encamped in sight of Rouën, in the Borough of Dernetal on the 25th of September, and the Quarters were immediately distributed. Now as the King approached near Rouën he sent a Herald to the City to summon the Inhabitants to surrender themselves, and submit to his Mercy, which doing they would be forgiven all past Offences, but if they prov'd obstinate they ought to hope for no Mercy. They answer'd, that they kept the City for the King under the Prince of Condé's Authority, and that they own'd no other Lord besides his Majesty: but as they saw amongst the Courtiers their sworn Enemies who had usurped all Authority and Power, they could not admit his Troops in the City, without exposing themselves to utter Ruin. That Answer being reported to the King, his Army encamped about the City, and he laid siege to it; the chief Circumstances whereof I shall relate, when I shall have given an Account of the State and Condition it had been in from the beginning of this Year.

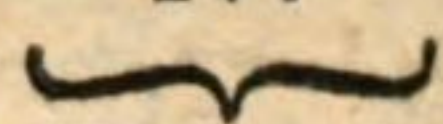
There had been a Provincial Synod of the Reformed Churches of Normandy held at Rouën this Year on the 25th of January, to which the Queen had sent Monsieur du Buissón, to congratulate them on account of the Peace which they enjoy'd, and which she intended to preserve; but whereas she foresaw that the King's and her own Good-will towards them, would draw upon his Majesty the Hatred of some, she desired to be particularly acquainted with the Number of Forces, Horse and Foot they could supply his Majesty with, in Case of Need, and how long they could maintain the same.

They answered, that they could afford six thousand Foot and six hundred Horse.

Charles IX.
1562.
Pope Pius IV.
CXVI.
The Triumvirate's Army arrives near Rouën.

CXVII.
The State and Condition of that City.

Charles
IX.
1562.
Pope Pius
IV.



The 27th of the same Month the Edict of January was published at Rouën, and every thing done according to its Prescription. On the 8th of March happened some Riot in the City, occasion'd by the breaking of some Images, which Act was nevertheless ascribed to some Priests, who had a-mind to raise a Sedition.

The 29th of the same Month of March arrived Letters which the Prince of Condé directed to the Church of Rouën, giving them Notice of what had happen'd at Vassy, and requiring their Assistance. But the Church would not undertake any thing till they knew more particularly the Queen's Pleasure: They sent for that purpose a Deputy with Offers of their humble Services to his Majesty; but he could not be admitted to an Audience, no more than the Deputies of several other Provinces, who had been sent to Court by the Churches upon the same Errand, and were sent away by the Triumvirs; nay, some of them were murdered at Paris, as above said.

On the 15th of April, the Reformed understanding that their Enemies were hatching some Plot against them, seized the Keys of the City-Gates, the Town-House, the old Palace, the Castle, and all the Munitions, and expelled the Bailiff Villebon, and the Sieur de la Londe; they ordered four Captains, and sent Garrisons into the strongest Places.

The Duke of Bouillon Governor of Normandy hearing of these Changes came to Rouën on the 19th of the same Month; he had countenanced the Reformation before, but for all that he was one of the Time-servers. Having met at his coming in the Reformed under Arms, he endeavoured to persuade them to lay them down, promising that they would be maintained in their Privi-

Privileges, according to the Edict, without any Hindrance. But they answered the next Day, that whereas the King and Queen Regent were detained in a kind of Captivity by the Triumvirs, who in the most violent and cruel manner had infring'd the King's Edict, and discovered by their Conduct that they sought eagerly the Extirpation of the Reformed Religion; nay, whereas there was some Reason of suspecting that they intended to attempt upon the King and his Crown, because the Parliament of Paris had suffered the Sorbonne to dispute publickly, whether a Prince suspected of Heresy could not be deprived of his Crown? they thought themselves obliged to arm for the Defence of their King, since he had as yet no Means for to protect his Subjects against the Violences of their Enemies, &c.

Charles
IX.
1562.
Pope Pius
IV.

That Answer was sent to Paris by the Duke of Bouillon; the said Duke intended to lodge in the old Palace with his Troops, but was denied, and he himself with only six of his Servants were allowed Admittance, which he took very ill, and the next Day he departed from Rouën.

The 27th of the same Month the Inhabitants seized upon the Fort and Monastery of St. Catherine. As to the Declaration above said the Triumvirs were incensed at it, and they sent the Duke of Aumale to Normandy with as full a Power as if the King had been there in Person, without any Regard for the Duke of Bouillon whom they mistrusted, nor for Villebon, for whom they had no great Regard.

On the 3d of May the Populace rose up against the Images, and broke them all; they destroy'd more in 24 Hours, says de Beze, than one would think, could have been made in 24 Weeks,

Charles

IX.

1562.

Pope Pius

IV.

Weeks, and they took out from all the Churches of the City those Objects of Superstition ; therefore, from that day till the taking of the City, no Mass was said in it.

The 9th they took two Gallies returned of late from Scotland, which were of great Service to them afterwards. The next Day was made a Review of four thousand Citizens of the Reformed Religion, all in good Order and Condition ; there was, besides these, a greater number still who exerted themselves in good time. For which Cause the Parliament, or the most part of them professing the Catholick Religion, thought proper to avoid the City, under Pretence of providing for the Safety of their Persons, (tho' none of them had received any Hurt or Damage either in their Persons, or their Goods) and with the King's Approbation, they kept their Sessions at Louviers.

Villebon seized a Town called Pont de L'Arche, by which means he stopt the Provisions which came to Rouën that way ; but the Inhabitants of the last seized upon Caudebec, by the means of one of the Gallies, whereby they opened a free Passage from Rouën down the River, but they did not keep it long, because they neglected to dismantle the Town. The same Day they received three hundred Soldiers sent from Dieppe, Lillebonne, Montevilliers and other Churches of the Country of Caux ; and three Days after arrived Captain Blondet with one hundred Men with him. At that time there was a Cessation, not only of Trade and Handy-Craft at Rouën ; but even of Justice, therefore the Inhabitants being summoned to the Archbishop's Palace, they elected twelve of the most considerable amongst them, for the Chief Council of the City, and one hundred Citizens, that is twenty-five
for

for each Ward, to consult together and provide for every thing, as the Case should require, by the Advice of the twelve. There was a Fight between the Inhabitants and those of Darnetal on the 17th of May, wherein the latter were worsted and their Borough much damaged. Then they set to work for repairing with all Diligence the Fortifications of Rouen, and of St. Catharine's Fort; they had likewise to guard themselves against the Incendiaries, which they did effectually.

The 26th of May they received a Letter from the Queen, requiring them to lay down their Arms, and restore the City to the same Condition it was in three Months before, by which doing they might depend upon her Protection. They answered, that they could not depend upon those Letters, nor do what they were bid, until the Guises, Authors of all those Evils, should have laid down their Arms, and had took their Trial.

That Answer was never delivered to the Queen, because the Post-boy was stopt upon the Road by Villebon. Therefore Monsieur D'Oysel being come to Rouen upon the same Errand, he received the same Answer on the 2d of June.

The 27th of May St. Catharine's Fort was summoned by the said Villebon to surrender to the Governor sent by the King: He was answered, that the said Governor would be very welcome, provided he should come unarmed, and with six Attendants only; then began a Skirmish, wherein Villebon was worsted. On the last Day of May there were some other Skirmishes between some of the Duke of Aumale's Troops, and those of the Fort, but without any Advantage on the Enemy's side.

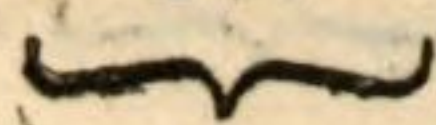
Charles

IX.

1562.

Pope Pius

IV.



On the 1st of June the said Duke sent a Safe-conduct to the President D'Emendreville for coming to a Parley ; but he was answered, that such a thing could not be granted, till they had laid down their Arms on both Sides: Which being understood by the Duke, he broke the Channels and Pipes of the Fountains, and assaulted the Fort, but was repulsed with the Loss of five and twenty Horse. All these warlike Dispositions, the Devastation of the Country, and the Preparations made for the Siege of Rouen, being related at Orleans, the Prince, at the Request of the Inhabitants of the former, appointed and dispatched Monsieur de Morvilliers for to be their Governor, a Lord in all respects qualified for such an Employment, as he shewed forth by his wise Conduct, and the brave Actions he did at Rouen, where he arrived with three hundred Horse the 11th of June, after having escaped many Dangers, and put the Change upon the Duke of Aumale who pursued him, for hindering his Entrance into that City.

He made several good and wise Regulations at the Request of the Inhabitants, for to suppress the Dissoluteness of the Soldiery ; for to put St. Catherine's Fort in a better Posture of Defence; and for to put a Stop to the Under-dealings of the Roman Catholicks in the City, who supplied the Enemy with many warlike Provisions.

On the 29th St. Catherine's Fort was besieged again by the Duke of Aumale, after several Skirmishes wherein he got always the worst ; at last he gave a general Assault on the 11th of July, but was so courageously repulsed and briskly pursued even into his own Camp, that he was obliged to raise the siege. After that happy Deliverance, for which publick Thanks were

were given to God, the Inhabitants of the Fort repaired every thing, and put themselves in a better Posture of Defence than before.

Chalres
IX.
1562.
Pope Pius
IV.

The Duke having attempted in vain to surprize the City by Scalado, and lost all Hopes of taking it, laid the Siege before Pont-Audemar, which he took by surprize during a Parley, and committed in it all manner of Hostilities, especially against the Minister, who was sick a-bed; they cut off his Ears, pulled out his Eyes, and dragged him to a Gibbet. Honfleur was likewise taken by the said Duke, without much Resistance, and the Inhabitants fled to Havre de Grace.

The 26th of July the Queen wrote again to Rouën, but without success, because her Cheat was discovered. A Month after, the Parliament of Rouën, who kept their sittings at Louviers, published a very bloody Declaration against the Reformed. Against which Declaration the Inhabitants of Rouën sent their Protest, but it was not regarded at all; the Parliament proceeded also against several Reformed, who were condemned and executed for their Religion sake, amongst whom was an Attorney named Quillebœuf, who suffered with an uncommon Constancy. They issued another Proclamation commanding all Reformed to leave the Town of Louviers in twenty-four Hours, upon Pain of Death and Forfeiture of all their Goods.

At Rouën, the Austin-Fryars and other Monks were banished the City, and whereas some of their Party had inlisted Men, some of them were arrested and others fled, whose Goods and Estates were sold, part for the use of the Poor, and part to pay the Troops, whose Expences amounted to above five and forty thousand Livres per Month.

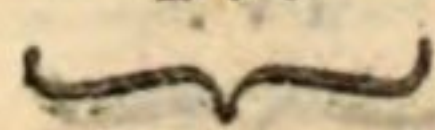
Charles

IX.

1562.

Pope Pius

IV.



It was about this time, that Monsieur de Morvilliers much disliking the Treaty concluded with Queen Elizabeth, out of a motive of Conscience, left Rouën, and retired into one of his Country-Seats in Piccardy, where he lived quietly as long as this War lasted, professing openly the Reformed Religion, without being ever prevailed on by any Intreaties of the Court, to take party against those whom he had so bravely defended. Before he left the Service, he endeavoured to engage the Inhabitants of Dieppe to oppose the Reception of the English Troops, but he was not hearkened to. I do not know whether he was any ways related to the most celebrated John Morvilliers Bishop of Orleans (*q*).

Rouën having lost its Defender with that Lord, they sent to the Prince to desire him to send them another Governor; but in the mean time, either supposing that the Count of Montgomery, who was then in Low-Normandy, would be the Person appointed by his Highness for that purpose, or because they were afraid that another could not come time enough for their relief, they sent a Messenger to the said Lord, desiring him to come and be their Governor. But the Prince appointed Briquemaut an old, brave and experienced Officer, (the same who had concluded the Treaty with Queen Elizabeth) who arrived at Rouën on the 13th of September, where he mustered the Troops, and repaired as he thought proper the City and St. Catherine's Fort.

The Count of Montgomery arrived also at Rouën four days after, and was not at all pleased to see another Governor in the City besides himself, and if either of them had been led by his Ambition, very likely that would have been of
vast

vast Prejudice to the City ; but they were both so moderate, that they came to an Agreement, Montgomery remained Governor of the City, and Briquemaut who was to receive the Auxiliaries which were expected every day, took upon himself the care of sending Succours to Rouën, which he performed with great Diligence during the Siege (r).

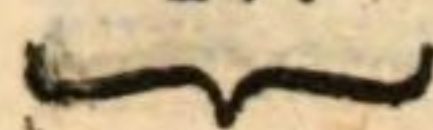
Charles
IX.
1562.
Pope Pius
IV.

A Trumpet came in the King's Name to summons the City to disarm and submit themselves to his Clemency, the Duke of Aumale promising to solicit earnestly their Pardon, and that he would obtain it. But Montgomery answered, that he the said Duke of Aumale and his Companions Authors of these Commotions stood in need of that Pardon, as the King would be made sensible of it when he would be of age ; and that by the Prince of Condé's Command, he kept the City for the King's Service, and the Trumpet was forbid to come another time nearer the place than a Cannon-shot. The rest of the Month was employed in making Preparations for withstanding the siege.

The 28th an Herald at arms was sent upon the same Errand as the Trumpet, but was dismissed with a like Answer, and the next day the King's Army laid siege to the City. The King and the Queen-Regent, the King of Navarr, the Constable and the Duke of Guise were there in Person ; as to the Marshal of St. Andrew, he had been sent with a body of Troops to hinder the Passage of the Germans, who came as Auxiliaries to the Prince of Condé. The King's Army was sixteen thousand Foot and two thousand Horse strong, besides the Reisters and other Germans, with a vast quantity of Cannons. The

*The said
Army laid
siege to
the City.*

Charles
IX.
1562.
Pope Pius
IV.



The Inhabitants made a Sally the very first day, and a fight ensued, which lasted all the day long to the great Detriment of the Besiegers. The last day of September there was a Skirmish, wherein they were worsted again, and the first day of October those of St. Catherine's Fort made a Sally upon the Enemy and killed many of them.

Montgomery had built a new Fort which was called by his name; the Enemy was sensible that they must take possession of it before they could bring their Artillery near the City-Walls; they attacked it, but as they made very little Progress, they undertook to carry before all St. Catherine's Fort, and having battered it for four or five days together, they began to despair of success (for in all their Assaults they were always repulsed with loss, and the Besieged made frequent Sallies upon them with great advantage)

They make themselves Masters of St. Catherine's Fort by Treason. when by the Treason of an Officer of the Fort, they were let into it while the Officers and Soldiers were refreshing themselves at Noon; so they carried it on the 6th of October, and made a terrible Slaughter of the Garrison and of the Inhabitants, amongst whom were found twenty-eight Women; the Traitor was killed himself by one of his Soldiers, as he was helping by the hand some of the Enemies to come up; then they stormed Montgomery's Fort.

The English Fleet arrives.

The English Fleet which had been long detained by contrary Winds, arrived at last at Havre de Grace on the third of the same Month under the Command of the Earl of Warwick, of which those of Rouën were immediately informed by eighty Scotch Horse that were sent to their Relief; but the Gentleman which the Prince of Condé had dispatched to Rouën, to let them know that his German Auxiliaries were entered

tered into France, and that he would come in Charles
Person to their Relief with all his Forces as soon IX.
as possible, was intercepted upon the road and 1562.
beheaded. Pope Pius
IV.

The two Forts being taken, the Besiegers immediately carried all their Artillery against the City, which they stormed by two different places, to oblige the Citizens to come to a Composition. But tho' they saw themselves exposed to the greatest Danger, nevertheless they were not disheartened; they applied themselves entirely to the Defence of their Walls, repairing diligently all the Breaches.

They made likewise a Sally upon the Besiegers in two different places with great Success and without loss. They were much encouraged by the Arrival of five hundred English Soldiers, who entered the City the 9th of October under the Command of my Lord Grey, having overcome all Oppositions in their way from Havre de Grace to Rouën, especially at Caudebec.

The 13th of October a large Breach being made in the Wall, there was a general Assault *First As-*
which lasted from ten in the Morning to six in *sault.*
the Evening, with great loss on both sides; but at last by the great Valour of the English, the Assaultants were repulsed. During that Assault, the Women exerted themselves above what could be expected from their Sex, for making no account of the Musketry or Swords, they supplied their Husbands or others, with the Necessaries for their Defence.

The next day Monsr. de Vely was sent from *A new*
the King to the Inhabitants, to summon them *Summons*
to surrender. They required time 'till the Even- *from the*
ing to deliver their Answer, but while they were *King.*
about consulting, the Besiegers gave a new As- *Second As-*
sault with greater Fury, which lasted six Hours, *sault.*
and

Charles IX. 1562. Pope Pius IV. and had already planted three of the King's Colours upon the Battlement of the Walls, when they were repulsed again, with the loss of about eight hundred Men; nevertheless, they made themselves Masters of the superior part of St. Hilary's Gate, whereby they discovered the Streets of the Celestines and of St. Claire; the Besieged lost on this occasion about four hundred Men and several Women, there were about two hundred wounded.

CXIX. A very memorable Accident happened in this Skirmish, which deserves to be here mentioned. Francis de Cville a Gentleman of the Neighbourhood, was amongst the Besieged at the head of his Company, he was wounded with a Musket-Ball that went through the Jaw-bone into the hinder part of the Neck, he fell down in the Ditch, the Pioneers who were below the Rampires mistaking him for dead, immediately undressed him, and put him but half dead with another into a Hole, which they covered with some earth; it was about Mid-day. On the Evening when the fight was over, as every one retired, his Servant inquired about his Master, whether it was true that he had been killed. The Count of Montgomery told him that it was so, and that by his Orders his Corpse had been buried. The Servant desired earnestly to know the place, that he might go and dig him out of the Ground, in order to carry him to his Relations; which being granted, he went with one of the said Count's Guards upon the place, they digged out the Bodies, but they were so besmeared with Blood, that he could not distinguish his Master; therefore despairing of Success, they put them again in the same place, and covered them as before, but as they went home, they turned their heads accidentally towards the place, when they

they saw one of the Arms uncovered ; then out of pity for fear least the Dogs should be invited by that to dig up the Corpses, and devour them, they went again to the place, but as they covered the Hand, they saw by the Moon shining a Diamond which Monsieur de Civile was used to wear ; at which Token, the Servant knew his Master, and having put his Face to his, he found that he breathed still, and by consequence, that there remained in him some sparks of Life, therefore he put him upon his Horse and carried him to St. Claire, where the wounded were taken care of at the publick Charge. But the Surgeons saying that it was needless to take Trouble and use Remedies for one in the Condition he was in, especially when there was such a great multitude of wounded : Therefore his Servant carried him back into an Inn, where he lived for four days together without Meat or Drink. At last having called for William Guerante and Le Gros (or Le Gras) two famous Physicians, by their Advice they wrenched his Teeth open, and poured some Drops of Broth into his Mouth, and dressed his Wounds, by that means he began to recover his Senses little by little. But the City being stormed a few days after, his Brother's Enemies came into that Inn to revenge some old Quarrels, and finding him not, they resolved to wreak their Anger upon this wretched Gentleman almost half dead, and having forced his Chamber, they threw him out of the Window into the Yard ; but very happily he fell on a Dunghill, where, being forsaken by all Men, he lived for three days without eating or drinking, 'till one of his Relations, with the help of some Soldiers, fetched him out of that place in secret, and carried him into a Farm, wherein he had time enough to recover perfectly well, and was

Charles
IX.

1562.
Pope Pius
IV.

still

Charles
IX.

1562.

Pope Pius
IV.CXX.
*The King
of Navarr
wounded,*

still living when Thuanus wrote his History which was about forty-seven Years after (*.)

The next day as the King of Navarr, acting in a way much below his Dignity (as he had been told many times by his most private Friends and Servants, even the day before) visited the Trenches in his turn, he was wounded with a Musket-shot in his left Shoulder while he was making water. The Duke of Guise hearing his Cries, ran to his Assistance, and caused him to be carried out of the Trenches by some of his Servants, upon a single board, whereupon they used to carry away the Pioneers wounded or killed. They brought him to the Rhingrave's Lodging with great difficulty, because of the acuteness of his Pains; two Surgeons having examined the Wound, searched for the Bullet, which they could not find, and made some small Incision. Immediately after he was visited by the Queen-Mother, the Prince of La Roche-sur-Yon and the Constable, and then put into a Litter, he was carried to his Lodging at Darnetal, where we shall leave him for a while.

CXXI.

*A new
Summons
from the
King.**Rouën
sends some
Deputies
to the King.*

The 15th of October another Herald was sent to the Inhabitants, commanding them to surrender the Town to the King. Montgomery having called the Council in the Celestine's Convent, it was unanimously agreed and sworn by the Captains, Soldiers and Burghers, to die rather than to put themselves at the Guises Discretion, who abused the King's Name and Authority; and to leave no room to Calumnies, they sent two Deputies to his Majesty with Offers of their Duties and Services, and to shew forth the Justice of the Reasons which moved them to defend themselves against the Guises and their Adherents, beseeching his Majesty to send

(*) Thuan. lib. xxxiii p. 195, 196.

send them away with the Army nine Miles far from the City, which done they were ready to obey him in every thing, agreeable to the Edicts.

Charles
IX.
1562.
Pope Pius
IV.

The next Day the Deputies were admitted to the King's Audience, and graciously received; but the Queen told them, that the King's Pleasure was to be received in the City without any Condition, with all his Court and great Lords whom he had always found trusty and faithful; that he would take care least any Violence should be done to their Conscience, and that they might live quietly and pray to God in their own Houses; but that the King commanded them to dismiss their Ministers who were the Authors of these Civil Commotions, till his Majesty should order it otherwise.

CXXII.
Conferen-
ces without
Success.

There were some Debates upon that Answer, the Deputies shewing forth that there was very little Hopes that the Inhabitants would consent to receive in the City their mortal Enemy; or ever consent to forsake the Ministry of the Gospel which had been granted by the Edict, and live without Religion. To which the Queen replied in these very Words; *We know well enough how one is to live, and you come very late to teach us upon that Point; it must be sufficient for you to obey the King, and live as he does; and I give you this further Warning, that if you refuse to do it willingly, he has Means of remaining Master, and resenting all what is past.* Then they delivered to the Deputies five Articles, and they were ordered to deliver a peremptory Answer in the next Morning.

The next Day the Inhabitants being assembled, they unanimously chose to die rather than to forsake the publick Exercise of their Religion, or to submit themselves to the Tyranny of the Guises. That Answer was sent to the King by

Charles IX.
1562.
Pope Pius IV.

a Lieutenant of Montgomery, and one of the former Deputies ; they were very ill received by the Queen, who dismissed them with great Threatnings.

CXXIII.
A third Assault.

Nevertheless the Assault was delayed till the next Day, the 17th of October, which was repulsed with a great Loss on the side of the Besiegers. Therefore, on the 18th the Queen invited them again to a new Conference, and the President D'Emendreville was deputed for that purpose twice in the same Day. But he could obtain no better Terms than those already proposed, which being reported to the Citizens, they resolved to come no more to any Parley, but to defend themselves till Death.

The same Day four hundred Foot, coming from Dieppe to the Relief of Rouën, were intercepted and routed, in Pavilly's Wood, by the Lord Damville.

On the 19th the Queen sent again in the City Monsieur de Durescu to endeavour some new Agreement ; the abovesaid President with Monsieur de Bauquemaure, who had been sent to the Queen, came back with the Articles agreed and signed, that concerning Religion excepted.

CXXIV.
A fourth Assault.

Mean while the Besiegers offended because they had heard the singing of Psalms upon the Ramparts, gave a new Assault which lasted only two Hours, because of the heavy Rain which fell at that time : A Mine, which the Besiegers made under St. Hilary's Gate, took air by a Cannon-shot fired from the City : But they turned away the Waters to render the Mills useless, and to drain the Marshes.

The 20th the Deputies having been heard in the Town's Council, it was resolved that they should return to the Queen with a Petition to
this

Charles
IX.
1562.
Pope Pius
IV.

this purport, That the King would be pleased to send Letters of Safety to the Prince of Condé, that he might come to Court, with whom they might treat not only of the Reddition of the City, but of settling a solid and lasting Peace in the whole Kingdom. But they were snubbed very haughtily by the Constable, who sent them back without any Answer. But Durescu, who had remained as Hostage in the City, promised, that when he should be gone, he would send an Answer in two Hours time. Which he did, and let them know, that since they would absolutely have their Ministers with them, then they ought to leave the City along with the Ministers. So the Inhabitants having lost at once all Hopes of coming to some Agreement, they resolved to defend themselves to the last Drop of their Blood.

The 21st, another Assault more brisk than the former was given to the City, wherein the Assault. *Fifth As-*
Assailants were worsted.

The 22d, the Besieged filled up the Trenches made by their Enemies upon the Causeway of Martinville, to turn away the Waters and drain the Fields; they put likewise in good Repair the Tower of the Colombier, which had suffered above two thousand Cannon-Shot.

The 25th, they stormed a-new the City at *Sixth.*
St. Hilary's Gate, and were repulsed, and three Mines were sprung, but to little purpose.

At last, the 26th, the French Soldiers being either tired with the Fatigue, or disheartned, the City was carried by Storm, notwithstanding the stout and brave Resistance of the Burghers, but especially of the English, who behaved themselves on all occasions in the most gallant manner. Captain St. Colombe of the Province of Bearn was the first who entered the City through the Breach; *The last Assault.*

Charles but having been shot in the Face, he died of
IX. his Wound a few Days after; the Count of
1562. Nançay followed him, he was forely wounded
Pope Pius in the Thigh. Then the others having forced
IV. their Passage, went to plundering.

CXXVII. Now, whoever can conceive, that no Spec-
Horrid de- tacle more frightful can be offered to the Sight,
solation of than that of a City taken by Storm, which for
the Inha- its being the more opulent and peopled, is the
bitants. more apt to tempt the Rapacioufness and Cruelty
of the Soldiery, and as much as it has been hap-
py during its Prosperity, as much it is unhappy
in the time of its Adversity, will have an I-
mage of the Condition the unfortunate Rouën
was in then: And all that, because they chose to
die or to suffer the last Extremities, rather than
to endure a base and cruel Slavery from the
Guises *.

Montgommery, having got a Galley to be
ready at all Events, embarked in it with the
English Troops and his Family, and having pro-
mised Liberty to the Slaves, they made such Di-
ligence, and were so happy, that having passed
over the Stackado at Caudebec, they landed safe
at Havre de Grace.

As to the Chiefs of the City which remained
in it, they retired into the old Palace, which
was soon surrendered to St. Esteve, with many
Ministers that were found in it, besides those
belonging to the City; but the greatest part
found Means to escape the following Night,
while the Soldiers were gone a plundering a-
bout.

The President D'Emandreville was likewise
taken; and when he thought to have bought
his Liberty with that of Augustine Marlorat
first Minister of Rouën, for two thousand Crowns
which

* Than. *ibid.* p. 197. Beza *liv.* viii.

which he had promis'd to St. Esteve; the Traitor having got what he desired, that is, knowing where Marlorat lay concealed, he sent for him, and put him close Prisoner with the President.

Charles
IX.
1562.
Pope Pius
IV.

The next Morning they were both brought before the Constable, who severely upbraided them, charging them with a Design of placing the Prince of Condé upon the Throne of France, and of creating the Admiral Duke of Normandy, and D'Andelot Duke of Britany; and ordered them to be kept in a closer Confinement; swearing to Marlorat, that within a few Days he would be made sensible that HIS GOD WAS NOT ABLE TO DELIVER HIM OUT OF HIS HANDS.

It was a doleful Sight to see the poor People, Men, Women and Children wandering along the Shore of the River Seine, endeavouring to escape the Fury of the Soldiers; many who took Boats, or crossed the River by swimming, were either drowned, killed or stript and brought back Prisoners, very few excepted. It was reckoned that this Siege cost the Lives of Four thousand Men on both sides. Tho' by the King's Proclamation the plundering was to last only twenty-four Hours, nevertheless it lasted for many days with the same Dissoluteness and Fury*.

As to the King of Navarr, whom we left at Dernetal, his Wound was in the left Shoulder-blade, the Bullet adhering to the Joint, a small part of the Bone being betwixt the Bullet and the Orifice of the Wound, in so much that it was impossible to take it out, and the Flesh growing upon it, the Medicaments could not penetrate to the bottom; he spent all his time in

N 2

Plays

* Id. ibid. Dinoth. lib. 2.

Charles
IX.
1562.
Pope Pius
IV.

Plays and other Diversions, and in feeding his wandering Soul, with the vain Hopes of the Kingdom of Sardinia, which the King of Spain had promised him, fancying to himself that Forests of Citron Trees, and golden Apples, like those of the ancient Hesperides, Streams of Gold, fine Rivers like the Seine, the Loire, and the Garonne were to be found in it : He repeated so often those idle Tales, that he tir'd the Patience of those who came to visit him *.

CXXVIII.
*Navarr
makes his
publick En-
try into the
City.*

He no sooner heard that the City was taken, than he caused the Wall of his Chamber to be pulled down, and from thence he was carried in his Bed upon his Switzers Shoulders, (for he could not get up out of his Bed without evident Danger) and made his Entry through the Breach in a kind of Triumph, Drums beating and the Timbrels founding after the German way, and so he was carried by the same Breach to the Lodgings prepared for him ; there he waited for his last Hour, in the same Diversions, a beautiful young Lady above named, viz. ROUET, one of the Queen-Mother's Maids of Honour, whom he loved desperately, never stirring from his Bed-side : it was said that the Queen had brib'd her some Months before, on purpose to dive into his most secret Thoughts.

*He grows
worse and
worse of
his Wound.*

The Inflammation of his Wound increased, and some days after, when he was thought better, he was seized with a violent Fever, and the Surgeons having cut the Excrescencies, the purulent Matter issuing out of it, exhaled such a Stink, that even the Surgeons themselves could hardly bear with it ; but for all that the Fever relented not : therefore being sensible of his approaching Death, he renounced entirely all manner of Diversions ; and Perrenot de Chantonay, the Spanish Ambassador, being come

* Thuan. Tom. II. lib. xxxiii. p. 197.

come to visit him, he complained very bitterly to him, that he knew but too late, that he had been sadly abused and deceived, and blamed his Credulity, for having been so rash as to believe one Word of the King of Spain's Promises. Then he wrote to the Queen his Consort, warning her to provide for the Safety of Bearn. After that he began to think more narrowly of himself, and he, who till then had wavered in Matters of Religion, pretending the Danger of the Kingdom, now his approaching Death makes him more sollicitous for his own Salvation than for the Kingdom. Nevertheless he was distracted by two Physicians, (who have always a great Power with Princes unhealthful, or drawing near their Death) viz. Vincentio Lauro a Calabrian, who had been formerly Physician to the Cardinal of Tournon, and Raphaël de Mezieres, who adhered to the Reformed Doctrine. The first persuaded him to have a Conference with the Official of Rouën, on the 9th of November, and he received the Sacrament after the Roman way, before the Prince of La Roche-sur-Yon, and the Bishop of Mendes, but none of his Servants was present, at which he was very angry. This afforded to Mezieres an Opportunity of telling him of his Duty, and even he spoke to him about the Sin against the Holy Ghost; to which he said nothing, but was very thoughtful. The Queen having been told by the Physicians, that it was time for his Majesty to think of his Conscience, she visited him, and spake to him to this very purpose, *My Brother, What do you think of? You ought to have somebody to read by you.* Madam, says he, most part of those who attend me are Huguenots; she replied, *they are no less your Servants for that.* Then the Queen being gone,

Charles
IX.
1562.
Pope Pius
IV.

Charles IX. 1562. Pope Pius IV. he ordered Mezieres to read the Book of Job, and was touched to the quick by that reading, and said to that Physician, *Mezieres you have been in my Service these twenty Years past, and now you see the unhappy End of my Life.* Then he asked Pardon of God, with Tears in his Eyes, and made a Confession of his Faith after the Reformed way, protesting that if he should recover, he would cause the Gospel to be purely preach'd throughout the Kingdom: He found himself something better in the Night, and the next Morning he said to the Assistants, *I know that you will say every where, THE KING OF NAVARR DIED AN HUGUENOT; do not take notice of whatever I am, I will live and die in the Augustan Confession.* From that time he grew worse and worse, and caused the Bible to be read to him by Mezieres.

CXXX. *His Death.* Then he made his last Will; and against the Advice of his Physicians, he insisted to be carried by Water to St. Maur des Fossees a Borough near Paris, where he had been told, that, perhaps, he might recover, because of the Wholesomeness of the Air. When he was in the Barge he found himself better, but a little after, he felt great Shiverings, and a cold Sweat; in his raving he said, *I will send Mezieres to Geneva to be a Minister, where is he? let him come to pray by me.* Mezieres, who was at the Bed's-side, kneeled down, and made a Prayer *extempore*, the Prince of La Roche-sur-Yon and the rest of the Company, the Cardinal of Bourbon, the Prince of Mantua and another excepted, kneeled down likewise. Mezieres went on exhorting and comforting his Majesty 'till about four Hours before his Death, when, having lost almost his Speech, the Cardinal called for a Jacobine who was in a Lay-dress in the Barge; the King

King knew by the Sound of his Voice that it was not Mezieres, therefore he ask'd him who he was, and who had sent him to him? Upon which Mezieres desired him to hearken to the Man, that he would tell him nothing, but what was for his own Profit. At his last Agonies, he took his Valet de Chambre by the Beard, and bid him to be trusty to his Son, and to exhort him in his Name to be faithful to the King; which said, he expired (*a*).

Charles
IX.
1562.
Pope Pius
IV.

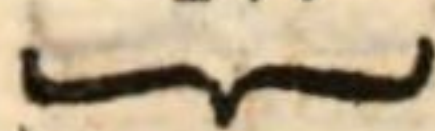
So died Anthony of Bourbon, King of Navarr, on the 17th of November, the 35th Day after his Wound, and in the 42d Year of his Age.

CXXXI.
*Further
Reflections
upon his
Character.*

He was well-shap'd and of a Majestick Countenance, but especially endowed with a frank and generous Soul, ready to forgive the greatest Offences upon the least Application; his military Virtues and Atchievements made him to be reckon'd amongst the great Captains of his Age; he was naturally a Lover of Justice, and wanted not of Industry for the Management of Affairs; had he been more steady in the Party he had once embraced, most likely he would have attained his Ends in a way infinitely glorious to himself, and advantagious to the Kingdom: But as Sensuality impaired the Faculties of his Mind, so it made him fickle and inconstant, lazy, and avoiding Application as much as he could, easy to be carried away by his Adulators; who, humouring him in his Ways of Living, knew perfectly well how to improve his Failings and Vices to their best Advantage. Des. Cars had the greatest Ascendant over him, and governed him just as he pleased. Which being known at Court (that desired no better than to be able to dispose of a Name and a Person of that Importance,

N 4

(*a*) Beza liv. viii. Thuan. lib. xxxiii.

Charles
IX.1562.
Pope Pius
IV.

tance, at a small Expence, and by some Gratifications considerable enough for a private Man, but unworthy of a great Prince) his Credit and Reputation began to sink apace, and he could reckon amongst his Friends only those whose Condition and Fortune obliged them to depend on a Favourite, whose Interest it is to engage his Master into a Compliance with every thing. When a Prince is once brought to that Extremity, one may say that he has lost all the Merit of former Works, and that all his good Qualifications are gone away (*b*).

That Prince's unfortunate Death, and the sad Circumstances it was attended with, ought to be a Caution for others, to avoid Flattery, Sensuality, and every thing else which might corrupt their Morals; AND TO LIKE TO RETAIN GOD IN THEIR KNOWLEDGE, if they are curious of reigning gloriously, and of leaving a good Name after them.

He had had three Princes and a Princess by Jane of Albret his Queen Consort. The two first Princes died in the Cradle by very extraordinary Accidents. The first was smother'd with Heat, because his Governess, who was very chilly, kept him too warm. The second lost his Life by the Folly of a Nurse; for one day as she made a Sport with tossing of him from her to a Gentleman, they let him fall upon the Floor, of which having lingred for some Weeks he died. Henry Prince of Bearn, and King of Navar, after Queen Jane his Mother's Death, and King of France, under the Name of Henry IV. of which more hereafter. The Princess, was Margaret, who was married to the Prince of Bar, Son to the Duke of Lorrain.

An-

(*b*) See Le Laboureur Add. aux Mem. de Castelnau, liv. iii. ch. 13.

Anthony's Death could not be much lamented in the Kingdom, his own Menials excepted ; the Queen-Mother saw herself freed from a Tool which the Triumvirs made use of to controul her Actions, and to check her Ambition. The Triumvirs had obtained their ends, having got, by that Prince's Authority, and under his Name, their Adversaries proclaimed as Rebels by the Parliament of Paris, and several others, and so they wanted no more of him for the Execution of their Scheme. The Queen of Navarr his Consort had been of late so ill used by him, and she saw him so desperately bent to his own ruin, that nothing but the sad Circumstances of his Death, could move her to deplore his Fate ; the Reformed in general were sensible, that his Unsteadiness and Change had occasioned all the Injustice and Cruelties used against them, all the Sufferings and Miseries they underwent, *and it was but too true, that if he approved not of them, at least he was the occasion of them ;* no wonder therefore if some of them vented their Indignation after his death by several satyrical Writings ; amongst which I have picked the following Verses which I present here to my Reader.

Charles
IX.
1562.
Pope Pius
IV.

DE LA MORT DE TROIS ROIS.

DI E U par son Christ voulant regner en Gaule,
Pour l'empêcher trois Rois se sont poussez ;
Mais tôt par lui ont été repoussez,
En leur frapant, l'œil, l'oreille & l'épaule.

PO U R perdre les Chrétiens trois Rois se sont forcez,
Mais on voit leurs conseils sur leurs Chefs renversez ;

Car

Charles
IX.1562.
Pope Pius
IV.

Car HENRY voulant voir du Bourg reduit en
cendre,
Blessé en l'œil s'en va au Sepulchre descendre.
FRANCOIS qui ne daignoit aux Chrétiens audience
Prêter, est mort du mal d'oreille en son enfance :
ANTOINE promettant les chasser hors la Gaule
Par l'épaule, est frappé d'un boulet en l'épaule ;
Aprenez donc vous Rois, que Dieu punit peché,
En cela par quoy l'homme a contre lui peché.

They were turned into Latin in the following manner.

Tres populum Christi conjurant perdere Reges,
Hos casus subitus sustulit ante diem.
Ante oculos Burgum flammis torrere parabat
HENRICUS, hunc oculo lancea fracta petit.
FRANCISCUS, miseris qui faustam denegat aurem*,
Auribus, hic vitam perdidit Aureliæ.
ANTONIUS, spatulis promittens pellere Christos,
In spatulâ vindex hunc catapulta ferit.
Discite terrifici Reges, juvenesque senesque,
Quod hæc irato facta fuere Deo.

The meaning of these Verses is, That God had punished of late three Kings by the parts of their Bodies by which they had offended against him ; Henry II. had sworn that he should see Counsellor Annas du Bourg burning, but being wounded with a Lance in his Eye, he died a few days after. Francis II. refusing to hear the Complaints of his Subjects, and especially the Reformed, died with an Imposthume in one of his Ears. And Anthony King of Navarr having said in banter, that he would expel the Reformed by the Shoulders out of the Kingdom,

* Instead of *faustam denegat aurem*, we read in Le Laboureur *surdam denegat*, &c. which is not Sense.

dom, was wounded in his Shoulder and died of it; therefore all Princes ought to take warning at these Examples (c) †.

Charles IX.
1562.
Pope Pius IV.

I could have put off the Character of Jane Queen of Navarr to the beginning of the next Book, but whereas one of the greatest Ornaments of Anthony of Bourbon was, that he had such an excellent Princess for his Consort, I shall insert it here.

She was Daughter of Henry-Albret King of Navarr, and of Margaret of Valois, Sister to Francis I. born in the Year 1529, endowed with all the Perfections of Body and Soul, especially with an extraordinary Fortitude much above the reach of her Sex, which upheld her in the midst of her Distresses. She was not yet eleven Years old, when her Uncle Francis I. married her to the Duke of Cleves. That Marriage was celebrated at Chatelleraud, with an extraordinary pomp on the 15th of July 1540, but was declared void some time after. It had been concluded notwithstanding that young Princess's Protest, and against the Will of her Father and Mother. In October 1548, she was married to Anthony of Bourbon Duke of Vendôme, by whom she had four Children. The third time that she was big with Child, the King her Father having promised her to put into her hands his Testament, as soon as she should be delivered, upon condition however, that at the time of her Delivery she would sing a Song, *lest, says he, thou bringest forth a Weeper and crabbed Child.*

(c) Add. aux Mem. de Casteln. liv. iii. ch. 13.

† Mr. Perefixe mistakes, when he says that had the King of Navarr lived any longer, the Huguenots would certainly have been severely handled in France, &c. that is quite contrary to what Thuanus and others relate of his Sentiments, in the last days of his Life. Perefixe Hist. de Henry le grand, p. 22.

Charles
IX.
1562.
Pope Pius
IV.

Child. She told her Father that she would comply, and indeed was so courageous, that tho' she had a very hard Labour, the King being come into her Chamber, as soon as she heard him, in the midst of her Pains she began a Song in Bearnese Language, these are the words; NOSTE DONNE DEOU CAP DEOU PON, ADJOURDA ME EN AQUESTE HOURE, that is, Our Lady at the Bridge's end, help me at this hour. She became Queen of Navarr by the Death of her Father Henry, the 25th of May 1555. Tho' she was at first much indulgent to the Reformed as well as her Husband, nevertheless she dissembled, especially during the Guise's tyrannical Administration under Francis II. being affraid of persecution, and she said once to the King, *That if he had a mind to ruin himself, yet she would not do the same (d).*

But what is very surprizing, Anthony began no sooner to decline and grow cold towards the Reformed, but she began to grow warm and zealous for that Religion, and became the constant Protectrice of all the Professors of it (e).

The Thunder-bolts of the Vatican, nor the Efforts and Under-dealings of the Spaniards, nor the Rebellion of her own Subjects, were not able to deter her from her Resolution; she abolished the Mass all over her Dominions in Bearn; she outwitted Blaise Montluc Marshal of France, who was bent to her Ruin and Destruction; in a word, none but Queen Elizabeth could be paralleled with Jane for those shining Virtues which adorn the Throne, as well as for their mutual good luck in discovering and defeating the Plots of their Roman Catholick Subjects: Jane was no less distinguished in her times for her Learning than

(d) Brantome Vie des Capitaines François, tom. iii. p. 238. Beze liv. iii. p. 325.

(e) Beze liv. iv, &c.

than for her other Royal Virtues ; amongst several other Tongues, she spoke perfectly well Latin and Spanish ; she had a particular regard for the Learned, whom she invited to her Court ; and as an instance of her love for all useful Knowledge and Arts, I shall insert here a Stanza which she made extempore the 21st of May 1566, when she went to see the Printing-house of Robert Stephens.

Charles
IX.
1562.
Pope Pius
IV.

Art singulier, d'icy aux derniers ans,
Representez aux Enfans de ma race,
Que j'ai suivi des craignans Dieu la trace ;
Afin qu'ils soient les mêmes pas suivans.

That is, Singular Art, show forth from thence to the remotest times, to my furthest Posterity, that I have followed the Steps of those who fear God, to the end that they should do the same.

Robert Stephens, who was a Reformed, answered likewise extempore her Encomium on the Art of Printing, by this Sonnet.

Princesse que le Ciel de grace favorise,
A qui les craignans Dieu souhaitent tout bonheur,
A qui les grands Esprits ont donné tout honneur,
Pour avoir doctement la Science conquise.

S'il est vray que du tems la plus brave entreprise,
Au devant des Vertus abaisse sa Grandeur,
S'il est vrai que les ans n'offusquent la splendeur,
Qui fait luire par tout les Enfans de l'Eglise.

Le Ciel, les Craignans Dieu, & les Hommes sçavans,
Me feront raconter aux Peuples survivans,
Vos graces & vôtre heur, & louange notoire.

Et

Charles
IX.
1562.
Pope Pius
IV.

Et puis que vos vertus ne peuvent prendre fin,
Par vous je demeuray vivante, à cette fin,
Qu'aux peuples à venir j'en porte la memoire (f).

That Princess wrote finely in Prose, as we shall see in its proper place, by a Letter she wrote to Prince Henry her Son from Blois, where she was gone to conclude his Marriage-Contract with Margaret of Valois, youngest Daughter of Henry II. and Sister to Charles IX. Her Zeal for her Religion, and her Charity towards her Subjects of Biscay went so far, that in order to procure their Instruction, she caused the new Testament, the Catechism and the Common-Prayers used at Geneva, to be translated in their Mother-tongue (scarce understood by any of their Neighbours, and which was thought before impossible to be set in writing or to be spelt) and to be finely printed at La Rochelle, all at her own Charge; she took care likewise to provide them with Ministers and Teachers who could speak their own Language, to preach and instruct them (g).

She left her Dominions at the beginning of the second Civil-War in 1568, in order to join the Chief of the Reformed, and had an Interview with the Prince of Condé at Cognac, to whom she presented her Son the Prince of Navarr, whom she vowed so young as he was, (about 15 Years old) to the Defence of the Cause, with her Rings and Jewels, which were sold or mortgaged afterwards for helping to pay the Charges of the War, and wrote to the foreign Princes. When she came to La Rochelle, she sent to Queen Elizabeth a full Account of the Desolations of France, and of the great Miseries which it was exposed to, beseeching her to pity so many People unjustly oppressed,

(f) Le Labour. Addit, aux Mem de Casteln. liv. iii. ch. 13.

(g) Thuanus lib. li. p. 791.

oppressed, and to believe that she was moved to take up Arms, only by a great and extreme Necessity; she sent these Letters the 15th of October 1568 by Monsieur de Chastelier (b).

Charles
IX.
1562
Pope Pius
IV.

All the best Historians, Roman-Catholicks as well as Reformed, agree as to the Character of that Princess, that she was one of the most accomplished Princesses of her Age. One thing only can be justly laid to her charge, as a blemish to her Character, viz. a Breach of Faith after the Capitulation of Orthez, whereof I shall speak in its proper place. Indeed such a Breach (tho' very frequent in those times) was very unworthy of her Rank and the Profession she made of strict Justice; it afforded a Pretence to Mont-luc of gratifying his Cruelty a little after at the Mont of Marsan (i).

As to her clandestine Marriage after Anthony's Death, with a Gentleman by whom she got, it is said, D'Aubigné the Historian, it is a Tale so much the more ridiculous, that the said D'Aubigné was eleven Years and more than six Months old when King Anthony died; he being 80 Years old when he died at Geneva on the 29th of April 1630 (k). Nevertheless a Genealogist received orders in the reign of Lewis XIV. to find the Descent of Madam de Maintenon, Grand-Daughter of this Mr. D'Aubigné, out of Jane Queen of Navarr, who after the death of Anthony, had married one of her Gentlemen, who as it is pretended, was Father to Mr. D'Aubigné (l).

But

(b) Olhagaray Hist. de Foix, Bearn & Navarre.

(i) Thuan. lib. xlv. p. 584.

(k) Spon. Hist. de Geneve tom. ii. p. 387, 388. Edit. of Lyon 1680.

(l) Galantries de Roix des France tom. ii. quoted by Bayle in his Dict. Art. Jeanne de Navarre, rem. (Q.) p. 331. Tom. iv. Edit. Trev.

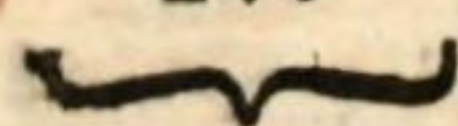
Charles

IX.

1562.

Pope Pius

IV.



But the Falshood of that Assertion is evident by Mr. D'Aubigné's Age. That Princess died at Paris on the 10th of June 1572, in the 44th Year of her Age. If D'Avila is to be credited, certainly she was poison'd by Charles IXth's Orders: Thuanus is not positive as to that, but several other Historians deny the Fact, (might be deceived by the report of the Physicians and Surgeons who opened her Body, but not her Head, thinking that it would be too cruel to search that part) now D'Avila pretends, that the Poison had been so well prepared, that it could affect only the Brains, without offending any other part of the Body (*m*).

CXXXIII.

*Several**Persons**tried and**executed at*

Rouën.

After this long Digression, which I hope will not be tedious to my Reader, I come now to the main Subject. The Parliament of Rouën that had kept their sittings at Louviers, came back to Rouën on the 29th of October, with their Hearts full of Hatred and Revenge against the poor Inhabitants, especially those of the Reformed Religion. The Queen-Mother sent for the President L'Alemand, to whom she forbid to attempt any thing against the Reformed, before a List of those who were deem'd to be the Authors of the past Resistance should have been drawn; because the King, by his Proclamation, had pardoned generally all the Inhabitants. The Constable, the Dukes of Guise, and Aumale and Villebon, with some of their Adherents, had took upon them to draw that List. On the other hand L'Alemand, tho' he had countenanc'd the Reformed before the Troubles, and kindly received their Remonstrance upon the necessity of Publick Assemblies, and who had been one of the Notables assembled at Paris when the

Edict

(*m*) D'Avila Hist. des Guerres Civiles de France, Tom. i. liv. 5 p. 266.

dict of January was drawn, and had caused it to be register'd in the Parliament of Rouën; nevertheless, having quite alter'd his mind, he not only made his report to the Parliament of the Orders he had received, but added further at the Constable and others instigation, that the Queen had acquainted him, that the Amnesty published in the King's name, was only a Device, and that she pretended that Justice should be executed against all the Captains and Ring-leaders as soon as possible, without appealing to the King or to Herself. Accordingly it was resolved, that the Captains and Leaders should be brought from the old Palace to the Parliament's Jail.

Charles
IX.
1562.
Pope Pius
IV.

On the 30th of October John Du Bose Lord D'Emandreville, President in the Court of Aids, Vincent de Gruchet Lord of Soquence, antient Counsellor of Rouën, Noel Coton Lord of Berthonville, likewise a Counsellor of the said City, and Augustine Marlorat Minister, were brought one after another before the Court.

They were principally interrogated about the Treaty made with Queen Elizabeth, why they had refused to obey the King's Commands and his Governors? why they had risen in Arms?

They said in their own Defence, That they had took up Arms in the Defence of their Liberty against the Violators of the King's Edicts, by the Prince of Condé's Orders, who was impow-er'd to do it by the Queen's secret Commands, as it had been reported to them. As to the Treaty with the English, they knew nothing else of it, only that the Prince had dealt with Queen Elizabeth, as with a Princess allyed to the Crown of France, desiring her, that according to the Good-Will and Friendship she bore to the King, and his Subjects professing the pure Reli-
VOL. II. O gion,

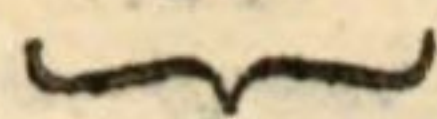
Chalres

IX.

1562.

Pope Pius

IV.



gion, and who were exposed to the Violence of some ambitious Men, she would be pleased to grant her powerful Assistance. They were all condemned to death, as if they had been guilty of High-Treason and Disturbers of the publick Peace.

Du Bosc to be drawn in his Shirt upon a Hurdle to the old Market-Place, there to be beheaded, and his Head fixed on a Pole upon the Bridge, and his Corps quartered, and the Quarters fixed to four Gibbets at the Avenues of the City. Gruchet, Coton and Marlorat were likewise condemned to be drawn in the same manner to the place before the Town-House, there to be hanged, strangled, and their Heads being sever'd should be affixed on the City Bridge, and their Bodies hanged in Chains. All their Goods were forfeited to the Crown.

These Sentences were executed with great Inhumanity, especially against Marlorat, who was an excellent Divine; in whose behalf, even the Roman Catholicks bore witness, that he had never preached any thing tending to Sedition or Rebellion; nevertheless the Constable himself and the youngest of his Sons, were so basely cruel as to insult him in his Misfortunes when carried to the place of execution, and Villebon beat him with a wand: but for all that, he was led like a Lamb to the Shamble, exhorting and strengthening the two Counsellors, and suffered to the last with a christian-like Constancy, and a full Resignation to the Will of God, as did likewise the three former. Marlorat left a Widow and five little Children.

The following Epitaph was made for him, and is to be found at the head of his excellent Work, *Totius Divinæ ac Canonice Scripturæ*
The-

Book IV. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.*

Theſaurus &c. published after his Death by William de Feuguieres.

195

Charles IX.

1562.

Pope Pius IV.

OR E gravi dum ſacra tuo myſteria pandis,
 Auguſtine gregi, ſaturato pectore nectar
 Mellifluum bonus excipit, improbus illud
 Rejeciſſe nefas cenſebat: at obruta poſtquam
 Vita boni viſa eſt, luget pius, impius horret
 Se infandum patraſſe ſcelus, ceſumque parentem
 Flent nati, abſentemque ferox deſiderat hoſtis.
 Occiſum ergo licet te tēque quaterque beatum
 Marlorate canam, quum nec tibi vivere triſte
 Contigerit, nec turpe mori, cui fama perennis
 Grata boniſque maliſque viget poſt fata ſuperſtes.

Captain John de Croſes, Captain René de Pro-
 vanes, and ten or twelve others were ſeverally
 condemned and executed, Provanes excepted,
 becauſe he obtained his Pardon; De Croſes was
 beheaded, and the reſt were hang'd and quar-
 ter'd.

At laſt, the Parliament was forbidden to pro-
 ceed any further, and to condemn any body with-
 out good and ſtrong Evidence.

They went on plundering and committing a
 thouſand Outrages againſt the poor Inhabitants,
 they re-baptized Children with Drums beating,
 they married again thoſe who had been married
 before by a Miniſter; nothing was to be heard,
 or ſeen in the Streets but diſſolute Songs, Blaſ-
 phemies or impudick Acts; nay, they bragged
 that the Maſs and Brothels were come again into
 the City by the ſame Breach (*n*).

The News of theſe cruel Executions being
 come to Orleans, occaſioned the Condemnation
 and Execution of Baptiſta Sapin Counſellor Clerk
 O 2

CXXXIV.

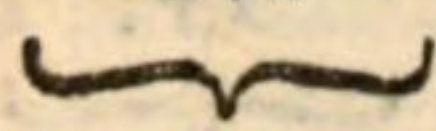
Sapin and
 Gatines

executed by
 in reſiſal at
 Orleans.

(*n*) Beza liv. viii. p. 651, &c. Thuan. lib. xxxiii. p. 197,
 198.

Charles
IX.

1562.

Pope Pius
IV.

in the Parliament of Paris, and of John of Troyes Abbot of Gatines in Touraine, an Austin Fryar, who had been taken a Month before going to Spain with Odet de Selves upon a private Commission from the Triumvirs. The Prince's Party at Orleans were so incensed at the unjust and cruel Proceedings of the Parliament of Rouën, that notwithstanding the strong Oppositions of D'Aubigné Father to the Historian, and of some others of the Prince's Council, they were condemned to be hanged and executed at the publick Place of Orleans; and it was with much ado that De Selves escaped the same Fate at the Intreaties of his Brother who was in the Prince's Service, but he died a little after with the Fright he had been put in on this Occasion (o).

When they heard at Paris what had been done at Orleans against these two Gentlemen, especially against Sapin, the Court of Parliament went with their red Gowns to the Holy Chapel of the Palace, and caused a solemn Funeral-Service to be performed for the repose of his Soul. His Corpse was brought to Paris, and buried in the Austin-Fryar's Church, where, by the Parliament's Orders, his Epitaph was set, engraved upon a Copper-Plate. Amongst many Poems done to his honour; Agricola has chosen this Complaint, which he is supposed to make to the Parliament of Paris, which contains an account of his being taken by a Party of the City of Orleans.

O R D O Togatorum cujus dum salva manebant
Jura, Salus populi Religioque stetit!

Ordo

(a) Thuan Ibid. Beza liv. vi. p. 188. D'Aubigné
Tom. I. liv. iii. ch. 10.

Ordo Togatorum, regni nomenque decusque,

Cujus eram nuper de grege, quisquis eram.

Accipe crudelis prænuntia carmina fati,

Fati, quo tibi laus, lux mihi rapta fuit.

Accipe quæ celeri committo novissima vento,

Carmina flebilibus sæpè canenda modis.

Urbe foroque procùl, Ligerim patriosque Turonas

Dum sequor & medium carpo quietus iter ;

Seditiosa cohors ; Armisque rebellibus audens

In patriam & superos bella ciêre Deos,

Irruit & stricti minitans immitia ferri

Vulnera, correpto me remoratur equo.

Mox trahit Aureliam, hostiles ubi territus iras

Experiorque gravi probra ferendo reo.

Quid faciam? pretio-ne caput precibusve rependam?

Non audit blandas gens truculenta preces.

Nil peccasse probem? dirum bene vivere crimen

Et culpam, vitii labe vacare, putat.

Aut Regis magno demùm me nomine tutor?

Ludibrio Regem, jussuque Regis habet.

Quid plura? horribiles subeo sine crimine pœnas,

Quas mihi turpe pati, sed magè turpè loqui.

Hæc igitur memori sint verba inscripta sepulchro ;

Una mihi mortis causa, S E N A T O R E-

R A M (p.)

After the taking of Rouën, the City of Dieppe accepted of the Conditions which had been offered to them by the Queen, (the same as those granted to the City of Bourges) they humbly petitioned the King to grant them the following Articles, That they should not be called to an account for the Damages done to the Catholick Churches ; that all the Decrees of the Parliament of Rouën published against them should be reversed ; that the English Auxiliaries should be allowed time and all the necessary Provisions to

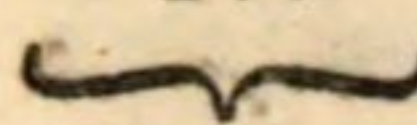
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retire

(p) Add. aux Mem. de Casteln. liv. iv. ch. 2.

Charles
IX.
1562.
Pope Pius
IV.

Charles
IX.
1562.
Pope Pius
IV.



retire into their own Country ; that a stop should be put to all manner of Depredations and Hostilities in the Province ; lastly, that they should be allowed the Liberty of meeting publickly for their religious Worship. His Majesty subscribed to all these Articles, the last excepted ; nevertheless he granted them Liberty of Conscience, promising that they should not be prosecuted for their Religion's sake, provided they should abstain from publick Assemblies. But at the Marshal of Montmorency's Instances, the Queen granted them the further Liberty of meeting in private and in small numbers to hear Sermons, and perform their Divine Service. The City of Caën received the same Capitulation by the Duke of Bouillon's Mediation, but all their Ministers were obliged to avoid the City for some time. And if the King's Army had proceeded any further, very likely all the Province of Normandy would have been submitted again to the Roman Yoke. But the Court thought proper to separate the Troops, and to come back with the best part of them to Paris (q).

CXXXV.

*The Court
with part
of the Army
comes back
to Paris.*

Two great Reasons obliged the Court to take that step ; First, the long Fatigues the Army had undergone by Marches and Counter-marches, and especially at the Siege of Rouën and the badness of the Weather. Secondly, but the chief Reason was, that the Court got intelligence that D'Andelot was arrived at Orleans with the German Auxiliaries, and that the Prince of Condé was resolved to be no longer upon the defensive, but to attack. For these Reasons, the Constable, the Duke of Guise, and the whole Court thought necessary to repair with all speed to Paris, leaving only the Rhingrave with part of the Reisters and some French Regiments to keep

(q) Thuan. Hist. lib. xxxiii.

keep Rouën, and oppose the Incursions of the English, who were Masters of Havre de Grace.

It was not without much trouble that D'Andelot had obtained of the German Princes the Auxiliaries, which he led to the Prince at Orleans.

Charles IX.
1562.
Pope Pius IV.

CXXXVI.

Situation of the Prince's Affairs.

That Lord was gone to Germany as above-said (Art. C.) to hasten the Succours, and met with great Difficulties: for Courtelary the King's German Interpreter, D'Oysel and Rambouillet sent one after another to the Emperor and the Princes of Germany by the Triumvirs, had so far prevailed, that the said Princes were almost resolved to deny their Assistance to the Prince of Condé. But his Highness understanding that the Diet of the Empire was to be held at Frankfurt in November, for the Inauguration of Maximilian King of the Romans, he sent thither James Spifame formerly Bishop of Nevers; a Man eloquent and zealous for the Cause.

He had forsaken his Bishoprick in the Year 1559, and had fled to Geneva to avoid the Persecution, and for professing freely the Reformed Religion, as is said in our first Volume, there he went by the name of Passy.

CXXXVII.
Of James Spifame Lord of Passy.

He was received Minister, and it is said, that he coveted such an Employment, in order to be more easily admitted into the Councils and have a greater share in their Affairs, but that is unlikely. The Parliament of Paris published a Warrant against him in 1559, to seize him wherever he could be found. He was very serviceable to the Reformed Cause in Germany, as we shall see presently. His Nobility, Wit, Learning and great Abilities, might have entitled him to the highest Dignities in France, had he persevered in the Roman Catholick Religion. But his end answered not to the beginning, he was beheaded at Geneva.

Charles IX. 1562. Pope Pius IV. neva on the 23d of March 1565 for High Crimes and Misdemeanours, being found guilty by his own Confession of having got a Child when Bishop of Nevers, by the Gentlewoman which he married afterwards, and to avoid that the Child should be declared a Bastard, he had made a false Marriage-Contract which was antedated, and sealed with false Seals. His own Nephew was come to Geneva to prosecute him. He was above 70 Years of Age when he was executed, and died very penitent (s).

It is utterly false that he was condemned for Adultery, as a Reformed Historian has supposed (t). Calvin cannot have had any hand in this Affair, as Morery will have it, since he was dead nine Months at least before this Execution (v). And Beza has so plainly vindicated himself as to the Charge laid upon him, that out of Hatred and Jealousy against Spifame, he had procured his Condemnation and Execution, that had Agricola read Beza's second Apology to Claudius de Saintes, he would not have insisted any longer upon that Calumny (u).

Such was the Gentleman whom the Prince of Condé made use of for his Negotiations in Germany. Being admitted to Audience, he presented the Confession of Faith of the Reformed Churches, and fully vindicated them from the false Aspersions of their Enemies. Then he made three different Speeches, the first in publick to Ferdinand, to whom he exhibited the Queen's Letters above-mention'd, and desir'd that a Copy of them should be kept in the Registers of the Aulick Chamber, that Posterity might

(s) Spon. Hist. de Genève liv. iii.

(t) Roccolé's Hist. véritable du Calvinisme, p. 444.

(v) Morery Dict. au mot Spifame.

(u) Agric. Add. aux Mem. de Cast. Tom. II. liv. iv. ch. 3.

might be thoroughly informed of the Truth of the Matter. The second Speech was made in private to Maximilian King of Bohemia, and then installed King of the Romans. The third was to the Princes of the Empire, whom he required to undertake the Defence of the King-pupil, and to grant their Assistance to the Prince of Condé, who had taken Arms for his Majesty's Liberty and Preservation, and to countermand the Troops which had been rais'd under the Command of Rokendolf, and of the Rhingrave (x).

Charles
IX.
1562.
Pope Pius
IV.

He prevailed so far by his Eloquence, and the Strength of his Arguments, that several Princes promised their Assistance to the Prince of Condé, the Reisters and Lanskenets were recalled by the Emperor's Orders, the Count of Rokendolf and the other Chiefs who commanded them were banish'd from the Empire, notwithstanding the Efforts and strong Sollicitations of Bocketel the French Ambassador*.

But another Thing happened which perplexed much D'Andelot's Affairs in Germany. The Prince of Condé had made an Agreement with Ratzemberg and Schachtin at Orleans for a certain Number of Troops which were to be led to his Assistance ; and in that Expectation much time had been lost. Now, these two Gentlemen, either persuaded, or rather bribed by the Court of France, excused themselves from performing their Promises, under Pretence that the Winter being at hand, the Roads would be too bad for the Troops, so they would have delay'd their March 'till Spring (y).

But

(x) Thuan. Hist. lib. 33.

* Agricola Ibid.

(y) Thuan, lib. xxxiii. p. 210. Beza liv. vi. p. 184.

Charles
IX.
1562.
Pope Pius
IV.

*D'Andelot
leads the
Auxilia-
ries to the
Prince.*

But the Landgrave of Hesse who was sincerely and entirely attached to the Reformed Religion overcame that Difficulty; he discharged with Shame these two Officers, whom he used to call afterwards by Derision THE SUMMER CAPTAINS, and sent at the Head of the Troops already levied his own Marshal, under the Conduct of whom D'Andelot was at last enabled to make a general Review of the Auxiliaries at Baccara, on the 10th of October, and he found three thousand three hundred Horses under nine Cornets, and four thousand Foot under twelve Ensigns: They were joined by the Prince of Porcian with one hundred French Horse, who met them at Strasbourg, which Number increased every Day. A little before that D'Andelot had fallen sick with a Quartan Ague; but for all this he deferr'd not the March of the Troops, being carried himself in a Litter. They took their way thro' Lorrain and Burgundy, and having crossed the River Yonne, to avoid the Troops of the Duke of Nevers Governour of Champaign, and those of the Marshal of St. Andrew, which had been sent against them to hinder their Passage, they arriv'd at Crevans. They destroyed in their way St. Cyr, and Issy, because they had denied Passage, and had given a very haughty Answer, when they had been asked for Provisions: They took likewise Chateau-Vilain, where some of the Franciscan Friars were killed. Lastly, D'Andelot came by Montargis to Orleans, with a Cornet of Horse, on the 6th of November, having left the rest of the Troops in several Places about Orleans. That Lord was very kindly received, as he deserved by the Prince of Condé and the Admiral his

his Brother, who went to meet him some Miles out of Orleans (z). Charles IX.

La Rochfoucault and Duras were arrived at Orleans since the first of November, with three hundred Horse and fifteen hundred Foot, the Remainder of the Army of Gascony, which had been intercepted and routed by Montluc. After the sad News of the taking of Rouën, and the Rout of the Army of Guienne, nothing could be more comfortable and pleasing to the Prince than the Arrival of the Auxiliaries from Germany, and of the abovesaid broken Remnant, these Forces being his only Help after God (a). 1562.
Pope Pius IV.
CXXXIX
The Auxiliaries of Guienne routed by Montluc.

He had disposed every thing for his March before their Arrival. The City of Orleans had granted ten thousand Crowns, being not able to do better, or to afford any Supply of Corn, as the Prince had required of them, because the Plague had reduced them very low. The Prince's Council made such other Regulations as they thought necessary, either for the better discharging the Expences of the War, or for the more effectually suppressing of Seditions. CXL.
The Prince disposes every thing for his March.

Then a publick Fast Day was published, and the Ministers came to the Prince, to the Number of Fifty, then at Orleans, requiring two Things of his Highness; first, that he would endeavour to suppress all manner of Robberies, Dissoluteness, Impurities and such other Vices in his Army, to avert the Judgments of God, which had fell heavy upon the Churches, since none of them remained standing all over the Kingdom, but those of some Islands, of Montauban in Guienne, of Havre de Grace in Normandy, of Orleans in Beausse, of Lyons, and few *The Ministers Exhortations to his Highness.*

(z) Eid. Ibid.

(a) Thuan. & Beza ubi supra.

Charles
IX.
1562.
Pope Pius
IV.

few others in Languedoc, and Dauphiné. Secondly, that he would be pleased to order some Ministers to each Regiment, to preach the Word of God and make Prayers in the Army. The Prince granted their Demand, but he was not able to perform but part; he recommended himself to the Prayers of the Church, and left at Orleans the Princess his Consort, and the Prince his eldest Son (b).

The Army
marches
out of
Orleans.

And takes
several
Places in
its Way.

On the 7th and 8th of November the Army marched out of Orleans, and the Prince follow'd; they went to Pithiniers, which was guarded by four Companies of Foot, who resolved to stand a Siege, and made the necessary Preparations for that purpose; but after some Cannon Shot, the Breach being large enough, they surrendered at Discretion the next Day after the Siege. On the 11th of the said Month the Prince entered the Place with four Ensigns of Gascoons, and ordered Genlis and Grammont to seize upon all the Munitions and Provisions which they found in great Abundance. The Inhabitants offered to convey to Orleans three thousand Quarters of Wheat, and one thousand Punchions of Wine, which Offers were readily accepted, and exactly performed. As to the Soldiers which were found in the Town, they were shut up in the Church, and there stript of every thing, and then sent back upon their Oath, that they would never bear Arms against the Prince or the Reformed Cause. As to the Priests, they killed as many as fell in their Hands, especially because they had been the Authors and Instigators of the Resistance which that Town had made (c). *A Cruelty however which was of a very bad Consequence, and which I think less pardonable in a*

Pro-

(b) Eid. ibid.

(c) Thuan. lib. 33. p. 211. Beza liv. vi. p. 191.

Protestant, who professes himself to be the Disciple of him, who says, LEARN OF ME, FOR I AM MEEK.) Two Officers, one of them an Italian, who having been taken formerly and brought to Orleans, and released upon his Word that he would not bear Arms against the Prince during the present War, and the other formerly a Merchant of Paris, guilty of many Cruelties against the Reformed, were both hanged in the Market-Place, while the Army marched out to go to Estampes.

Charles IX.

1562.

Pope Pius IV.

Mean while Monsieur de Gonnor, known afterwards by the Name of Marshal de Cossé, was come from the Queen to the Prince's Army, in order to amuse him by some new Conferences, he told his Highness that he wonder'd at the vast Number of Foreigners which he had called to his Assistance, seeing that he had so often declared that he was a faithful Servant and good Kinsman to the King. To which the Prince answered in few Words, That so he had been, and was, and would be always, and then sent him away (d). The Garrison of Baugency hearing of the Prince's Approach, fled with all speed in the Night time to Chateaudun, and was succeeded by that of Meun.

At this Time the Constable and the Duke of Guise were arrived at Paris. The Marshal of St. Andrew, seeing that he had not been able to hinder D'Andelot from joining the Prince with the Auxiliaries, was come to the City of Sens, whose Inhabitants were terribly frightened, lest D'Andelot should come and revenge the Blood of so many Innocents which they had so cruelly and inhumanly spilt. But when he heard that, he took another way; he went to Estampes, thinking to stay there, and to make of that Place

(d) Beza ibid.

Charles IX. 1562. Pope Pius IV. Place a Magazine for the Triumvirat's Army, but understanding that the Prince's Army was in full March to that Place, he thought proper to dislodge without Delay, leaving however two Ensigns in it, who retreated into the Castle as soon as the Prince's light Horse came in, and the next Day they surrendered and were dismiss'd with only their Sword and Dagger. The Plunder could not be avoided at first, by the Fault of those who indiscreetly opened the Gates, without having provided Quarters for the Army; but a Stop was soon put to the Licentiousness of the Soldiery: And whereas that Place abounded in all manner of Provisions, Commissaries were ordered to distribute it in the Prince's Camp (e).

CXLI.
*Debates
in the
Prince's
Council.*

Here the Prince held a Council of War, to consider which was the most proper, either to go directly to Paris and besiege it, or to seize first upon the neighbouring Towns. Strange it is to see how variously the Historians relate this Circumstance; Castelnau and D'Avila suppose, That that Council was held at Orleans before the Army marched out of that City, but Castelnau pretends that the Resolution was taken there, of going directly to Paris (f).

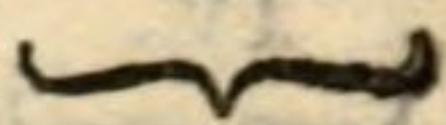
On the contrary D'Avila says, that the Admiral and other chief Officers opposed so warmly that Proposition, that it was rejected by the Majority, and they followed the second Scheme; and I can't forbear laughing when I read in that Historian the fine Speeches which he puts in the General's mouth pro and con, on this Occasion, and in several others, just as if he had been Secretary of their Councils, or had been intrusted with

(e) Beza & Thuanus *ibid.*

(f) *Mem. de Cast. liv. iv. ch. 3.*

with their Notes (g). But D'Aubigné (b), De Thou (i), de Beze (k), Dinoth (l), say positively that it was at Estampes, at least after the taking of Pluviers (or Pithiviers according to others) that that Council was held, and that there were some Debates about the Course they were to take ; either to go directly to Paris, or to attack the Places near that Capital, from which they were but 14 small Leagues distant, and would certainly have thrown the Parisians into a general Consternation, had the Opinion for attacking directly that City prevailed. If I may speak my Mind, Agricola methinks puts us in the right upon that Subject ; and indeed it is not likely, that the Prince and his Generals would have set out from Orleans with their Army, without having first considered what Course they should take (m).

Charles
IX.
1562.
Pope Pius
IV.



However, the worst Opinion was followed ; they spent several Days in taking La Ferté, Dordans and Montlehery, and attacking Corbeil, where they found a stouter Resistance than they expected ; and by this time the Triumvirs had fortified the Suburbs of Paris, and put them in a Condition of withstanding the Prince's Efforts when he came to attack them, after having been obliged to raise the Siege before Corbeil.

*The worst
Opinion
followed.*

While he was encamped before that Place, the Queen sent to him M. de St. Mesme to amuse him with the vain Hopes of being acknowledg'd as Lieutenant of the Kingdom, in the room of his

- (g) D'Avila Tom. I. liv. iii. p. 117.
 (b) D'Aubigné Hist. Univ. Tom. I. liv. iii. ch. 12.
 (i) Thuan. lib. 33. p. 211, 212.
 (k) Beza, ubi sup.
 (l) Dinoth. lib. 2. p. 103.
 (m) Agric. Add. aux Mem. de Castelnau, Tom. II. liv. iv. ch. iii. La Nouë disc. 26.

Charles IX. 1562. Pope Pius IV. his Brother the late King of Navarr, provided however, that he should attempt nothing against the Town of Corbeil. A strange Thing! tho' the Prince was fore-warned that such Steps tended only to prolong the Time, to the End that they might fortify the Suburbs of Paris, and receive the Auxiliaries which they expected every day from Spain, tho' he himself was very sensible of it. Nevertheless, some of his Council flattering themselves that their Enemies, urged by Necessity, would come to some reasonable Composition, persuaded the Prince to grant a Suspension of Arms, provided that the next Day the Articles proposed by him for a general Pacification should be answered. Even the Enemies themselves laughed at such a Behaviour, and ceased not to fire on the Prince's Camp. Robert Stuart was wounded in the Thigh by a Cannon-shot, of which nevertheless he was so perfectly cured in a few Days, that he walked without hobbling (*n*).

In the mean while the Parliament of Paris condemned the Admiral and his Brother D'Andelot to be beheaded in Effigy, but they durst not execute the Sentence; they vented out their Fury upon a Gun-smith of the Reformed Religion, who was hung, and being not strangled was cast into a Fire, out of which being escaped, he was knock'd down and killed with Halberds and Swords; so he died by a Rope, by the Fire, and by the Sword. Besides that they caused four Gentlemen, Reformed, of the Bailiwick of Senlis to be beheaded.

All this while the Prince was inactive, and so he remained till the 22d of November, when Monsieur de Gonnor was sent to him from Paris, who gave him to understand that the Queen desired

[(*n*) Thuan. Hist. & Beza, both ut supra.

fired earnestly to speak with him, and confer about the Articles of Peace.

Charles IX.

1562.

Pope Pius

IV.

The Prince seeing that he could not assault the Place without an evident Danger of being repulled with great Loss, took this Opportunity of raising the Siege, and came directly to Paris, the two Armies marching with the River Seine between them, they could not forbear to insult one another during their March, and firing frequently one upon another. At last two Days after, the Prince arrived at Ville-Juif, and the next Day, which was the 25th of November, he came to the Abbey of La Sauvalle, which the Nuns had deserted.

CXLII.

He comes near Paris.

There the Queen sent him word that she desired to confer with him at a Place called Port-à-l'Anglois, which was granted, and a new Suspension of Arms was agreed; but at the Time appointed, the Prince, either because of his Health, or because he got Intelligence that some Snares were laid for him in the way, sent word to the Queen that he could not go to the Rendezvous, but that he would send the Admiral, who would confer with the Constable his Uncle; so he did, they conferred for two Hours together, but could not agree; for the Constable obstinately rejected any thing tending to the free Exercise of the Reformed Religion, and the Admiral would have that Article to be the Basis of the Conference; which for that reason was put off till the next Day, when the Prince, the Admiral and several other great Lords came to the River's Bank, where they waited a long while for the Queen, who came very late in the Evening; but the Prince fainting away, he could not cross the River; therefore the Constable, with two of his Sons, and the Duke of Nevers came to him. After some Compliments passed between them,

CXLIII.

The Queen amuses him with new Conferences.

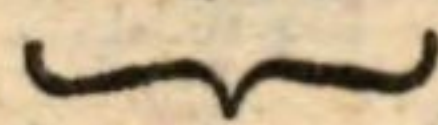
Charles

IX.

1562.

Pope Pius

IV.



the Prince told the Constable, that the ill State of his Health did not allow him to speak much, but that he entreated him, that he would shew by his Actions, that really *he desired no better* (as he pretended) *than to see Peace, Union and Concord restored in the Kingdom.* This Conference was as unsuccessful as the former. Before they parted, the Duke of Nevers paying his Duties to the Prince his Uncle; his Highness took him aside, and upbraided him with the breaking of his Promise, and acting against his Conscience. Nevers excused himself, saying, that he had done many things against his Will, out of Necessity, but since the Peace could not be made, he gave him his Word, that he would retire to his own House; which, however, he did not perform, for he was killed at the Battle of Dreux (o).

CXLIV.

*He feigns
to have a
mind to
block up
that City.*

The 28th of this Month, the Prince's Army encamped before Paris, which the Triumvirs had fortified, and made all the necessary Preparations to withstand the Prince's Efforts, having had time enough for that purpose, the Vanguard led by the Admiral, in which were the Prince of Porcian and Mouy, stormed the Suburbs of St. Victor, which threw the Parisians into such a Consternation, that had not the Suburbs been strengthened, or had the Prince come with all his Forces to support the Admiral, it was generally believed that they would have deserted the City and opened their Gates. The President Le Maitre, who had been one of the most violent Persecutors of the Reformed, being sick a-bed, and hearing the Uproar, was put into such a Fright, thinking the Huguenots lurked for him every where to hang him, as he said, that he died of it a little after; Christophorus

(o) Eidem Ibid.

stophorus de Thou, Father to the Historian succeeded him *.

Charles IX.

1562.

Pope Pius IV.

Satisfied with having frighten'd the Parisians out of their wits, the Prince's Army took up their Quarters, the Foot in the Valleys of Mont-rouge and Vau-Girard, the Prince of Porcian at Gentilly, Genlis at Mont-rouge and the neighbouring Villages, the Prince and the Admiral at Arcueil, and the Reisters at Cassan and other commodious Places. The whole Army amounted to eight thousand Foot, and between five and six thousand Horses, two Cannons, a Culverin, four Field-Pieces and no more; the Triumvirs Army was encamp'd without the City by the Trenches and the Causey which they had made to cover the Suburbs on that side. For two consecutive Days the Prince came out in a Battle Array, to try whether he could provoke the Enemies to fight; but in vain, they fired only upon him from the Rampires, whereby a File of six Horse was carried off by a Cannon-shot (*p*).

The next Day in the Morning the Prince agreed to a new Conference proposed to him by the Queen, a new Suspension of Arms ensued, and the next Day, the 2d of December the Queen came in the Afternoon to the appointed Place which was a Wind-Mill, with the Prince of La Roche-sur-Yon, the Constable, the Marshal of Montmorency and Monsieur de Gonnor. The Prince came likewise with the Admiral, Genlis, Grammont and Esternay. After several Debates, the Propositions of the Prince were briefly set down in Writing by Secretary de L'Aubespine, and reduced to the five following Articles.

P 2

1. The

* Beza & Thuan. ubi supra.

(*p*) Beza liv. vi. 196,---7. Thuan. lib. 33, p. 212, 213.

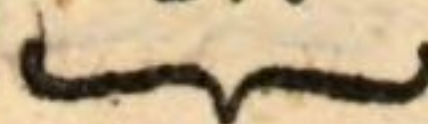
Charles

IX.

1562.

Pope Pius

IV.



I. The Prince says, that the only and best Way of pacifying the Troubles, was to grant the free public Profession of the Reformed Religion in every place where it would be required by his Majesty's Subjects, but in the Places where it should not be required by them, there would be no publick Exercise of the said Religion.

II. That so doing, the English and other Foreigners should leave the Kingdom; and the Cities, Towns, Castles, Strong-holds, &c. should be restored to their former Condition.

III. That all his Majesty's Subjects should enjoy a perfect Freedom and Liberty as to their Conscience and Religion, and a full Security as to their Lives and Estates.

IV. That a free General Council should be held in six Months, to compose the Religious Differences; and if a General Council cannot be obtained, a National one should be held upon the same account, to which every one would be freely admitted.

V. And for the due Performance of the Premises, proper Securities shall be given respectively.

The Queen took these Propositions for to advise with the Council what Answer to give, and the next Day, the 3d of December, she sent Messieurs de Gonnor and de L'Aubespine, with the following Answer,

1. It is the King's Pleasure that the City of Lyons, and the Frontier Towns, shall be excepted out of the first Article, as well as all the Parliamentary Cities, and those Places wherein there was no publick Exercise of the Reformed Religion before the Edict of January.

2. That all Church-men shall be restored to the Possession of their Churches, Goods and Estates, and the Divine Service shall be performed in

in such Churches, as formerly, before the Troubles. Likewise every one shall be restored to the Possession of his Estates and Goods, to enjoy them freely without any Molestation at all.

Chalres
IX.

1562.
Pope Pius
IV.

3. As to the 2d Article concerning the English and other Foreigners, it is agreed.

4. And likewise that concerning the Council.

These Articles having been examined in the Prince's Council, to which the Ministers who were in the Camp had been called, they drew the following Reply:

I. His Highness desires so earnestly to see the Peace restored to the Kingdom, that if his Majesty will not consent that the free Exercise of the Reformed Religion should be settled in the Frontier Towns, after having remonstrated that the said Towns will be exposed to a greater Danger, if the Reformed Inhabitants met together without, than if they met within, he beseeches most humbly to grant, that, at least, they might meet in the Suburbs of the said Towns, and where there is no Suburb, that they might do it in some convenient Place near the said Towns, which shall be expressly specify'd.

II. Furthermore the Prince consents that the Reformed Religion shall be publickly professed only in the Places wherein it was settled before these last Troubles and Tumults.

III. That however all Gentlemen, either Barons, Castellans or High Justices shall enjoy the Privilege of a free Exercise of their Religion in their Houses and Castles, to which their Vassals shall be freely admitted if they have a mind to come. As for the Places wherein no publick Exercise of the said Religion had been settled before the Troubles, the Reformed In-

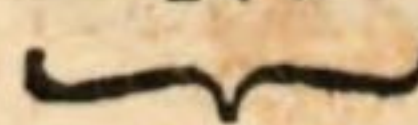
Charles

IX.

1562.

Pope Pius

IV.



habitants shall be allowed all Security as to their Persons and Estates, without being molested, or constrained to do any thing against their Conscience ; and shall be at liberty to repair to the neighbouring Cities or Towns to attend their Religious Worship.

IV. As to the other Articles, whereas they are as good as granted, they are not mentioned here.

The Queen having considered that Reply, and taken upon it the Advice of the Council, ordered that only these Words should be added at the bottom of it,

AS TO PARIS AND ITS SUBURBS, THEY SHALL BE EXCEPTED BY ALL MEANS.

And underneath Granted by the Queen in the King's Council held at Paris the 3d of December 1562. And the said Paper was sent back to the Prince, signed by De L'Aubespine, with this further Addition, that the next Day the Queen would declare herself more expressly in the Mill.

*Which
came to
nothing.*

Accordingly, on the 4th of December, the Queen and the Prince came again to the Mill with the same Attendance, and the Paper just now mentioned was read over again, and agreed to ; but whereas no mention had been made therein of the Securities to be given for the performance of the Articles ; and likewise, because it was thought necessary to explain some Words of the said Articles, the Prince tendered new ones, which were sent to Paris, there to be examined by the King's Council, who answered them one by one (*q*) ; which Answer and the Prince's Reply, because of their Length and Tedioufness, I shall omit here, especially since it appeared

(*q*) Beza liv. p. 196, ----- 214. Thuan. lib. xxxiii.
213.

peared that the Queen was not in earnest, and that she desired only to spin out the time, that she might receive the Auxiliaries coming from Spain, which were expected every day.

Charles
IX.
1562.
Pope Pius
IV.

Castelnau is an unexceptionable Witness of this.

„ *It was advised, says he, very prudently not to*
„ *venture any thing against People who put all*
„ *their Hopes in the Event of a Battle, and be-*
„ *fore the chief City of the Kingdom; but rather*
„ *to come to a Parley with them, while the Aux-*
„ *iliaries from Spain and Gascony, should arrive*
„ *and join with the King's Army (r).* The
Prior of Juvigné, this noble Historian's Com-
mentator, confirms the same Truth; and he as-
cribes the great Condescension of the Prince,
and his Easiness, to the Respect which the
French especially are remarkable for to their
King; and which prevails so far above all po-
litical Reasons, that they never refuse a Negoci-
ation with their King whenever it is offered (s).
For that Reason, tho' the Prince knew by past
Experience what would be the Success of the
proposed Conferences; nevertheless he consen-
ted to hold them, and agreed to a Suspension of
Arms, by which Step it was evident, that he
cooled the Ardour of his Troops, disheartned
them, and lost his Advantages.

It appears by the particulars of that Negocia-
tion, that the Queen was too cunning for the
Prince; for the Treaty was worded after such a
manner, that the Court was left at liberty to
interpret the Articles just as she pleased, ac-
cording to the Circumstances, and especially the
Article concerning the Foreign Troops; for it
was not stipulated that the King should be obli-

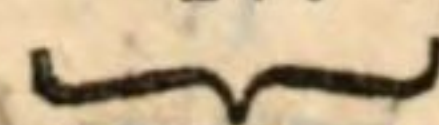
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ged

(r) Mem. de Castelnau liv. iv. ch. 3.

(s) Le Laboureur Add. aux Mem. de Castelnau liv. iv.
ch. 3. dernier Article.

Charles
IX.
1562.
Pope Pius
IV.



ged to dismiss them, which was rightly observed by the Prince's Council; wherefore his Highness insisted more warmly upon this, than upon the rest, and required that the King should send away all his Foreign Troops, which was absolutely denied.

The Denyal of that Article, and of some others, upon which they would have agreed more easily, occasioned the breaking off the Conferences (t).

The Prince, to justify his Conduct, published the Articles of the Treaty, with his own additional Remarks, his new Demands, and the Answers made to them; and in the Title-Page of that Writing, he took upon himself the Name and Character of Lieutenant-General of the Kingdom, pretending that it was devolved unto him since the King of Navarr's Death.

All Hopes of a Pacification being vanished away, the War begun again with more Fierceness than before. The Prince had attempted two different Assaults; the first to be given to the Suburb of St. Marceau: But it was prevented by the Duke of Guise's Vigilance and Diligence; the second was to be given to the Suburb of St. Germain, but it came to nothing because of the Lord of Genlis's unexpected Desertion (u).

CXLV.
Genlis's
Desertion
very pre-
judicial to
the Prince.

That Lord pretended to be moved with some Scruples about the Lawfulness of the War, especially since the Court had made so many Advances for a General Pacification; he approved much of the Terms offered by the Queen in the last Conferences; and was heard to say, That Peace, even upon the hardest Terms, ought to be preferr'd before a Civil War, how just so-
ever.

(t) Beza liv. vi. Addit. aux Mem. de Cast. liv. iv. ch. 3.

(s) D'Aubigné Tom. I. liv. iii. ch. 13; and the others above mentioned.

Charles
IX.
1562.
Pope Pius
IV.

ever. But indeed the true Motive of his Desertion, was, that he could bear no longer to be continually twitted in the teeth with his Brother Yvoi's Baseness in the surrender of Bourges. Two or three days before, he begun to be suspected, because he spoke with great Encomiums of the Duke of Guise, by whom he had been much carested during the last Suspension of Arms, he had been seen likewise talking very privately with Damville at the last Conference. Therefore the Prince's Council thought not proper to intrust him with the Secret of the second Enterprize; and whereas the Troops destin'd for it, were obliged to pass by his Quarter which was at Montrouge, it was resolv'd that they should take him by the way, without giving him any previous notice of what they went about. But it happened, that while they were upon that Consultation, Genlis arriv'd, and the Prince by inadvertency discover'd the Secret; for inquiring of him whether Damville stood well affected for Peace? Genlis told him, Yes; and that on the next day his Highness would receive from Court the last Articles which he had proposed, and which had been agreed. At this unexpected News the Prince was surpris'd, and with an Alteration in his Voice, he said to Genlis, *Then that will be done after we shall have paid a Visit to the Triumvirs in their Trenches.* These few Words were enough, Genlis understood very well their Meaning, and dissembling his Resentment, told the Prince that he would be one of the Company, and that he was going home to put on his Habits of Ceremony; and indeed he was no sooner arrived in his Quarters at Montrouge, that he took his Armour, and rode the best of his Horses.

Avaret

Charles
IX.
1562.
Pope Pius
IV.

Avaret his Lieutenant surpris'd to see him on horseback so late in the Night, rode likewise under pretence of attending him, but in truth, to watch over him (for he was in the Prince's Secret,) when they came near the Enemies Corps de Guard, Genlis opened his Design to Avaret, and told him that he intended to retire to one of his own Houses, since the Prince was averse to the Conditions offered to him ; but however, that he would never forsake the Reformed Religion, and exhorted him to do the same, which he refused ; being parted, Genlis was brought to the Louvre, where he was kindly received by the Queen-Mother, and Avaret rode with full speed to the Prince's Quarter, to give him notice of what had happened.

CXLVI. Now as he suspected that Genlis should have discovered his Secret to Court, he dispatched immediately through all the Quarters of his Camp for altering the Word, and ordered his Troops to watch narrowly. Two days after the Treaty was renew'd, the Prince made new Propositions, which being rejected, he retreated on the 10th of December, and marched with his Army in very good order, taking his way through the Country of Beauffe, in order to go into Normandy (*u*).

Tho' the Prince in raising his Camp had forbid his Troops under very severe Penalties, even Death, to commit any Plunder or Disorder in their Quarters, nevertheless the Reisters, out of spite against Genlis in whose Quarter they were, set fire to Montrouge, having first plunder'd his Baggage. Rohan of Fontenay did the same at Arcueil, and burn'd some Houses; the same thing happened at Cassan. The Vanguard mistaking these

(*u*) Beza liv. vi. p. 216, 217, &c. Thuan. lib. xxxiii. p. 214.

these Disorders for a Command, they set fire to several Houses as they went through St. Anthony's-Bridge, at which the Prince was so much offended, that seeing a Soldier coming out of a Barn which he had set on fire, he caused him to be apprehended and hung upon the spot.

Charles
IX.
1562
Pope Pius
IV.

The first day the Army came to Palezeau; the second, which was the 11th of December, to Limours, a Country-house of the Duchess of Valentinois, but tho' she had been one of the greatest Persecutrix of the Reformed in the reign of Henry II. nevertheless his Highness took her House under his Protection and Safe-guard, and would not suffer any damage to be done in it; nay, he obliged some Scotch Officers and Soldiers who were arrived before him, to restore several things which they had stolen away.

On the 13th of December the Prince came to St. Arnoul upon the road of Chartres, the Inhabitants whereof (at the Instigation of the Priests) having refused to open their Gates, they were forc'd, plunder'd, and several Priests were kill'd; the Prince stay'd two days in that Place, because he wanted Carriage for his Artillery (x).

In the mean while the Triumvirs came out from Paris with their Army, and following the Prince's, arrived at Estampes, as if they had a mind to besiege it, and whereas the Place was not strong enough to withstand a Siege, the Garrison was upon the point of forsaking it, when on a sudden the Triumvirs took another way, to be nearer the Prince.

CXLVII.
*The Tri-
umvirs fol-
low the
Prince.*

Then his Highness called a Council of War to consider what course they ought to take. Some were of opinion to go directly to Chartres, but that was found impracticable, because that City was too strongly garrison'd, and that it would

CXLVIII.
*Debates in
the Prince's
Council.*

Charles
IX.
1562.
Pope Pius
IV.



would be easy for the Enemy to come to its relief. The Prince voted for going back directly to Paris, because the Triumvirate's Army being absent, the Trenches and the Suburbs would be carried without resistance; that Opinion would have prevail'd had it not been for the Admiral, who shewed forth that the Enemy's Army would post themselves between Paris and Orleans, and cut off his own Army's Provisions with great ease, and may be besiege Orleans; or else inclose the Prince in his own Trenches, insomuch that he would have Paris at his back, and the Triumvirs at his front. „ Besides that, *says he,* „ the Reisters and Lanfkenets begun to complain, because they are not pay'd; till now „ they have been fed with hopes of receiving „ their Arrears, as soon as the Money expected „ every day from England should arrive, &c.” After many Debates, it was resolved to follow the Admiral's Advice, and to march directly into Normandy for receiving the expected Money, and for re-inforcing their Army with as many English Troops as the Places held by their Party could afford with Safety, and for diverting the Enemy from the Siege of Orleans (y).

On the 15th the Prince encamped at Ably two Leagues distant from St. Arnould; the next day he came to Galardon, which refusing Admittance at the Instigation of the Priests and of a certain Register, was forcibly taken, and the Register condemned to be hang'd and executed; on the 17th the Prince marched towards Dreux, and as he passed over a small River hard by the Castle of Maintenon, an old Woman stepping a good way into the Water, took him by the Boot, staying him and looking upon him, she said, Go on, O HERO, THOU MUST SUFFER MANY HARD-

SHIPS,

(y) Eid. Ibid.

SHIPS, BUT GOD IS WITH THEE. He answered, *Charles IX.*
Good Woman pray to God for me. And proceed-
 ing, he arrived the same day at Ormoy. *1562.*

That Night being a-bed, and talking with *Pope Pius IV.*
 some Gentlemen, he told to Beza, that had said
 Prayers before him; *I know we are not to give*
credit to Dreams, yet I must tell ye of one which
I had last Night. Methought I had given three
Battles one after the other, and in the end, I ob-
tained Victory, and saw my three Enemies dead
before me, myself being wounded to death: and
that causing the three Bodies to be lay'd upon each
other, I lay'd myself upon them, and so yielded up
my Soul to God. Being answered, That the great
 Affairs which filled his Mind, caused him to
 have that Dream, and that whether he lived or
 died, he could but be victorious: He said, *I*
pray God it may be so. But sure it is, that Time
 verified his Vision, for that his three Enemies
 were all slain one after the other, the Marshal of
 St. Andrew the next day, the Duke of Guise
 before Orleans, and the Constable at the Battle
 of St. Denis, and he himself after them was
 slain at the Battle of Bassac (z).

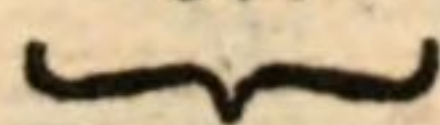
On the 19th of December, the two Armies *CLIX.*
 approached near each other. That of the Tri- *The Battle*
 umvirs was nineteen thousand Foot and two *of Dreux.*
 thousand Horse, besides twenty-two pieces of
 Artillery (a). That of the Prince about five
 thousand Foot and four thousand Horse, with
 the few pieces of Artillery above-mentioned.
 The Battle being very furious on both sides,
 lasted for six Hours. Among other Particulari-
 ties thereof, I shall observe the following.

First, That the Triumvirs willing to improve
 the Opportunity of giving Battle, but unwilling
 to

(z) Thuan. lib. xxxiv. p. 216. Beza liv. vi. Dinoth.
 lib. ii. p. 109.

(a) Castelnau reckons but 13 or 14000 Foot.

Charles
IX.
1562.
Pope Pius
IV.



to be answerable for the Success, had sent Castelnau Author of the Memoirs, an Express to Court, which was then at Vincennes, to know their Majesty's pleasure upon the present Occurrence.

The Queen-Mother was in great perplexity when she heard the Message, and told Castelnau, *That she wonder'd at the Constable, Duke of Guise and St. Andrew, that being so Great and Experienced Captains, they should chuse to send to a Woman and a Child, who were full of Grief at seeing Affairs reduced to that extremity, to ask their Advice, whether they ought to give Battle or not.* Then enter'd the King's Nurse (she was a Reformed) and as the Queen brought Castelnau to the King, repeating the same words as above, she told him in a banter, *Let us ask the Nurse whether our Generals should give Battle or no?* and calling her, *Nurse*, says she, *now the time is come, that the Women are consulted whether it is proper to give Battle; what do you think of it, Nurse?* Then the Nurse following the Queen in the King's Apartment, as she was us'd to do, said several times, *That since the Reformed would not accept of the reasonable Terms tender'd to them, it was her opinion to give them Battle.* The Queen-Mother having called a Cabinet-Council, it was resolved to leave the Triumvirs in full Liberty of doing in this respect, whatever they should think the more conducive to the Welfare of the Kingdom (b).

Secondly, That the Generals in the Prince's Army committed two Blunders; They did not send to *reconnoitre* the Enemy, and instead of taking up their Quarters in the best Villages situated along the Banks of the EURE, every one went quietly to rest in his own Quarters, while the Enemy took possession of those Villages without

(b) Mem. de Castelnau, liv. iv. ch. 4.

without any Disturbance, and even unknown to the Prince, tho' there was not two Leagues distance between the two Armies; and made in the Night-time all the necessary Preparations to attack them the next Morning, as they did: to which I may add, that by the Inadvertency of the Quarter-masters, the Battalia led by the Prince was quarter'd at the Front, and the Vanguard led by the Admiral at the Rear about a League distance from the Prince, insomuch that the next Morning they were obliged to lose much time in setting things a-right.

Charles
IX.
1562.
Pope Pius
IV.

Thirdly, May be that was the reason why there was no Skirmish between the two Armies, tho' they stay'd within a Cannon-shot one from the other, for the space of two Hours, as well to range themselves, as to determine upon the Attack.

Fourthly, The Switzers display'd on this occasion their great Courage, for they withstood four Charges before they could be broken, having lost seventeen Captains and the third part of their Men, that is, about three thousand.

Fifthly, The Moderation of the Duke of Guise upon this occasion, is much to be commended; for tho' he knew that the Constable had been taken Prisoner, and part of the Army overthrown, yet he stay'd and waited for the opportunity of attacking the Battalia of the Prince; and when he saw the nick of time, he behaved himself in such a brave and gallant manner, that he not only restor'd the Battle, but took the Prince prisoner, and got the day.

Sixthly, There were lost on both sides at least seven thousand Men, besides many Prisoners and Wounded, whereof most part died. The Prince lost about 2200 Foot and 140 Horse, Reisters or French, some Colours and part of his Artillery;

Charles
IX.
1562.
Pope Pius
IV.

lery ; the greatest Loss was on the Catholick's side, for they had the greatest number of slain ; amongst them there were several Persons of the first Rank, as the Marshal of St. Andrew, the Duke of Nevers, Montberon Son to the Constable, and several others. The Duke of Aumale was sorely wounded in the Shoulder. But the Prince lost but very few of his chief Officers, amongst whom were D'Arpajon, De Chandieu, De Liancourt, De Lignery, &c.

Seventhly, D'Aussun a noble Gascoon of the Catholick Army, tho' a brave Officer, who had given several proofs of great Fortitude and Courage, was so much frightened out of his Wits at the first Charge, that he ran full gallop to Paris, where he arrived the next Morning, crying, that every thing was undone, that they had lost the day, and that their Army had been entirely routed. At this News the Court fell into strange Commotions, the Queen-Mother excepted, who said coldly, THEN FOR THE FUTURE WE SHALL PRAY TO GOD IN FRENCH. But when De Losses arrived the next day, and brought a true account of every particular, D'Aussun was so much ashamed for his pretended Cowardice, that notwithstanding all that the Duke of Guise could say to comfort him, he resolv'd to starve himself to death, and so he did a few days after the Battle.

Eighthly, What is very remarkable, is the taking of the Generals of the two Armies Prisoners of War, the Constable by the Prince's Party, who was brought under a strong guard to Orleans, and deliver'd into the Princess of Condé's hands, as an Hostage for the Prince her Husband ; and the Prince himself by the Catholick Party, who was delivered by Damville, one of the Constable's Sons, into the Duke

of

of Guise's hands. By that means the Field of Battle remained to the said Duke of Guise, who re-enter'd into it, after having pursu'd the Admiral for a little time in his Retreat. But the next day, the 20th of December, the Admiral came in again, and offered a-new the Battle, but to no purpose, so he made his Retreat in very good order.

Charles
IX.
1562.
Pope Pius
IV.

Ninthly, The Duke of Guise's Behaviour towards the Prince was as kind and civil as could be desired in such circumstance; they not only supped together, but whereas there was no spare Bed, and that his Baggage had been taken or dispersed, the Duke offered his own to his Highness; but the Prince was pleased to share it with him, and would not accept of the offer upon any other terms, so they lay that Night in the same Bed: and I do not know which to admire more, the Duke's Moderation in the Use he did make of his Advantages, or the Prince's Confidence in trusting himself so far to a Man, whom he looked upon a little before as his greatest Enemy (c).

Tenthly, The Marshal of St. Andrew had been taken prisoner of War, but was slain in cool blood, by one whom he had very ungratefully treated; his name was Bobigny, his Father had often been Caution for the Marshal, but seeing that he ran into such extravagant Expences, that he would ruin himself and his Family if he continued to be Security for him, he desisted on a sudden. The Marshal seeing that he had nothing more to expect from the old Gentleman, and that his Creditors came upon him every day, he thought that there was no better way to be rid off these Troubles, than to render

VOL. II.

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Evil

(c) Beza liv. vi. Thuan. lib. 34. p. 216, 217, 218, &c. La Nouë Disc. 26. p. 847.

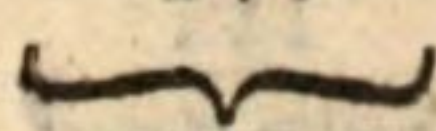
Charles

IX.

1562.

Pope Pius

IV.



Evil for the many good Offices he had received from him; therefore looking upon his Son who was in his Service, as upon an importune Creditor, tho' he asked nothing, he resolved to dismiss him with a great deal of Scorn and Contempt: for that end, a Quarrel having been pick'd up between Bobigny and Sanforlin, one of the Marshal's Favourites, by the said Marshal's Direction; the first was deadly affronted by the other, of which he made his Complaint to St. Andrew; but instead of giving him any Satisfaction, he told him that he was sorry for what had been done to him, but whereas there was so vast a difference in their Extractions, Sanforlin being a Nobleman and he a Plebeian, he could not expect to receive the same Satisfaction as if he had been Noble. At this, Bobigny more exasperated than before, left the Marshal's House, and having found an opportunity, he assaulted Sanforlin and kill'd him. Tho' the Marshal was very sorry for the loss of Sanforlin, nevertheless being glad of this opportunity of getting for himself the vast Estate of Bobigny, he caused him to be summoned before the King's Council at three different times, and for his non-appearance, he caused him to be condemned to death, and his Estate and Goods to be forfeited to the King, which Forfeiture he obtained for himself by proper application to his Majesty. Bobigny exasperated to the last degree by these twofold Injuries, and the loss of his Estate, despaired not however to find a proper Opportunity of revenging himself, and he was not long before he met with it; for St. Andrew having been taken prisoner as abovesaid, and being carried on horseback out of the field, Bobigny perceiving him at that time, came and kill'd him with a Musket-shot in the Head, in
the

the fight of the Soldier who had taken the said Marshal Prisoner.

Charles IX.

1562.

Pope Pius IV.

So died James D'Albon of St. Andrew, Marshal of France, who by his great Capacity might have render'd himself very serviceable to his Country, had he not stain'd his Talents by his Vices and odious Crimes; for he was no less conspicuous for his Pride, Luxury and Extortions, in the latter end of Henry II's Reign, and those of Francis II. and Charles IX. as he had been formerly by his Military Virtues and Achievements. He felt in due time the Effects of the Indignation of that God Almighty Avenger of such Wickedness as his was; and that by a Man whom he fear'd the least, which is a good warning to all great Men rais'd in Dignities and Offices, not to abuse their Authority and Credit to the Oppression of their Inferiors, and to respect their own Station and Fortune (*d*).

The Constable being taken prisoner, and the Marshal of St. Andrew being slain, the Duke of Guise was declar'd by the King his Lieutenant General to command in his Armies; he was no sooner invested with that high Office, than he order'd seventeen new Companies of Lanciers to be rais'd, and ten others were augmented with ten Men per Company; he created also twelve Knights of the Order, which being done, he threatned the Reisters and the Marshal of Hesse to cut them in pieces, and to hang the said Marshal, if they would not join with him, or depart without delay out of the Kingdom. But they scorn'd his Threatnings, and answered him almost in the same tune.

As to the Admiral, having been acknowledg'd as General of the Army during the Prince's absence, he marched into Beaussé, and made several

CL.

Admiral de Coligny named Generalissimo of the Army.

Q 2

Excursions

(*d*) Thuan. lib. xxxiv. p. 219.

Charles
IX.

1563.

Pope Pius
IV.

Excursions in that Country during the remainder of this Year.

The second of January 1563 he besieged Selles in Berry, and within five days after took it by composition. The Count of La Rochefoucault took likewise the Town of St. Aignan in the same Country, and the Prince of Porcian that of Mont-Richard in Touraine.

The Duke of Guise marching likewise into Beaussé, took Estampes, wherein the Lord of Duras commanded in the Prince's name, but seeing that the Place could not withstand, he had been obliged to leave it and retire to Pluviers, wherein he was surrounded by seven or eight hundred Horse, upon whom he made a sally as if he had a mind to stand a siege, but in the night-time he retreated to Orleans.

The Duke of Guise having made himself master of all those Places which stood for the Prince, nothing remained in that Country for his Highness but the City of Orleans, whose Custody was committed to D'Andelot, with fourteen Ensigns of Lanskenets and Frenchmen, and four others of the Inhabitants, with a great number of Gentlemen fully resolved to withstand the Siege; and indeed the Duke of Guise being encamp'd near Baugency, sent his light Horse as far as Orleans; but Avaret making a Sally upon them, some were slain, others taken prisoners, and the rest put to flight (*e*).

At the same time, the King and his Mother were brought to Chartres, with all the Privy-Council and some Deputies of the Parliament of Paris, in order to try the Prince (as it was rumour'd) who was kept by a Company of Lanciers and three of Foot. But Damville, one of the Constable's Sons, guessing at the Duke of Guise's

(*e*) Beza liv. vi. p. 246, 247, &c.

Guise's Meaning, to strike two blows with one stone, and not doubting but that the same usage that the Prince should receive at Chartres, the same would be received by his Father at Orleans, worked so well, that the Duke's Measures were broken, and that Assembly dispersed; the Court went to Blois, where the Prince was brought, and from thence conveyed to the Castle of Ozain near Amboise.

Charles IX.
1563.
Pope Pius IV.

On the other side, the Admiral having received new Promises and Oaths of the Reisters, marched to Orleans, and taking his way through Mont-Richard and Romorantin, he came to Gergueau, which La Rochefoucault had seized upon before, for to have a passage over the Loire, and ten days after the Town of Sully was forcibly taken, and the Castle the same day by composition; then he came to Orleans.

He leads the said Army to Orleans.

A few days before some Articles of Peace had been tender'd to the Princess of Condé, but whereas their mean scope was only to procure the Constable's Liberty by an exchange with the Prince, his Highness himself rejected them, for fear lest some Mischief should be hid in the bottom against his Person (either by Poison or otherwise) to be executed when the Constable should have been set at Liberty.

Now, whereas the Duke of Guise's Army encamp'd in the Neighbourhood of Orleans, and that it was very likely that he would soon lay siege to that City; the Admiral in order to procure a diversion, and oblige the Duke to divide his Troops, as well as for receiving the Money so long expected, resolved by the Advice of the Council of War to march into Normandy with the Reisters and a good number of the French Nobility, leaving his Foot with the French Horse at Orleans, led by *Duras, Boucha-*

vanes,

Charles

IX.

1563.

Pope Pius

IV.



vanes, Buffy, St. Cyr, Aualet and several others under the Command of D'Andelot, who with much ado accepted of that Charge because of his Sickness. The Reisters, at the instance of their General the Marshal of Hesse, shewed themselves so ready to execute that Resolution, that they left their Waggon at Orleans, and caused their Boys to carry their Necessaries upon the Waggon-Horses, whereof they made a Cornet of four hundred indifferent Men (*f*).

The Duke of Guise having got intelligence of this by his Spies, he desired the Queen to send Orders to the Marshal of Brissac Governor of Paris, to repair immediately into Normandy for the defence of Ro ien, with the Lord of Vieille-ville and the Rhingrave. Letters-Patents were likewise published in the King's Name throughout all the Parishes of Normandy, commanding all the Peasants in the Villages, to retire quickly into the fortified Towns with all their Cattle, Provisions and Goods; several other Orders were taken for the defence of that Province, and at the same time a thousand Ex-tortions were committed against the Reformed, especially at Paris, where divers cruel Murders were perpetrated. A Declaration was likewise sent to the Reisters, signed by the King, the Queen-Mother, and all the Princes of the Blood then at Court, exhorting them to forsake the Admiral. But it had no better effect than the Queen's Letter to the said Admiral, by which she desired him to desist from his Enterprize, and to agree to a Conference, wherein Matters could be fairly adjusted. He answered her Majesty, that he could not be imposed on any longer by such Parleys, but that it was his Opinion, that if

if the Prince had a Conference with the Consta-
ble alone, they would come to some Agreement
for the Pacification of the present Troubles.
That Letter was intercepted, and never came in
the Queen's hands, as she declar'd afterwards, of
which the Constable complain'd likewise; and
the Princess of Condé his Neice, talking upon
that subject, told him, that their common Enemy
dealt with the Prince her Husband and him,
just as the Parisians did with the Shrines of St.
Genevieve and St. Marcel, which they would
never suffer to come near one another, because of
the People's odd Notion, that by reason of their
Affinity they would embrace one another so
close, that it should be impossible to separate them
afterwards (g).

Charles
IX.
1563.
Pope Pius
IV.

The Prince of Condé had attempted his Es-
cape, and would have succeeded with the help
of two of his Guards, but was discover'd by
one of them, and the other was hang'd for it,
yet he fainted not, but on the contrary he spoke
more boldly than before, his nature being such,
that the greater were his Adversities, the more
his Courage was invincible.

Every thing being ready for the Admiral's
March, he departed from Orleans on the 1st of
February with four thousand Horse, without any
other Carriages than about 30 Waggon's lightly
laden. On the 4th he came before Evreux, a-
long the Walls of which, after some Disputes
and Skirmishes, the Inhabitants suffer'd him to
march peaceably; on the 10th, he arriv'd within
two Leagues of Bernay; where the Peasants led
by a Gentleman of the Country, endeavour'd to
stop him in the passage, but to their cost, as
well as of others who followed their Example,
and had committed many Outrages against the

CLI.

He goes
into Nor-
mandy.

Q 4

Reformed,

(g) Beza liv. vi. p. 256. Thuan. lib. xxxiv. p. 230.

Charles IX.
1563.
Pope Pius IV.

Reformed, since the beginning of the Siege of Rouën till then.

The Admiral being arrived at Dives, he stay'd there to wait for News from the English, to whom he sent Notice of his Arrival, not only to those of Havre de Grace, but even to England. The Winds continuing contrary, the Succours expected from that Country could not arrive, which hinder'd not the Reisters from complaining.

*His Ex-
ploits in
that Coun-
try.*

While the Admiral was in that place, the Prince of Porcian being requir'd by several of the Reformed Inhabitants of Pont L'Evêque, was sent to their Assistance. The Town of Honfleur was likewise summon'd, but they agreed only to grant some Provisions. The Inhabitants of Caën having desir'd the Admiral to assist them against the Marquefs of Elbeuf, whom the Duke of Guise his Brother had sent thither to keep that City in subjection, and who molested them continually; he refus'd them at first, and told them that if he did grant their Request, it would be more prejudicial than advantageous to them, because he was fully resolv'd to march back to Orleans, as soon as he should receive the Succours expected from England, tho' he should have besieg'd the Castle of their City and be sure of Success; and so they would be expos'd not only to the Scorn, but also to the Fury of their Enemies, who would revenge themselves severely upon them. Nevertheless, as they insisted, he sent thither the Lord of Mouy (not long before releas'd out of his Prison) with his Company and some Musketeers, to make themselves masters of the City, and do the best they could (b).

At

(b) Beza & Thuan Ibid.

At last, the Winds proving fair, the English Fleet arrived at Havre de Grace, there was on board five Ensigns of English, two of French; eight Pieces of Artillery with their Provision of Powder and Bullets, besides a round Sum of Money. These things being brought to Caën, where the Admiral had repaired as soon as he had notice of the Fleet's Arrival, he batter'd the Castle of Caën on the first of March, and the next day he took that strong Place by Composition. That good Success tempted him to make further Conquests in that Province; Mouy and Colombiers took Honfleur and Bayeux; Montgomery recovered St. Lo, Vire and several other Places; in short, the Admiral put under Contribution almost all the Towns and Burroughs of Normandy, where we shall leave him till we have related what happen'd about this time to the Duke of Guise, and the Motions and Progress of the Army under his Command (*j*).

Charles
IX.
1563.
Pope Pius
IV.

The said Duke, notwithstanding the Queen and several of the Courtiers Opinion, who were for following the Admiral into Normandy, and putting a Stop to his Progress in that Province, and for blocking up Orleans, while the Queen should treat of the Peace with the Prince (*k*); blinded by his Fate, he insisted on his Resolution to besiege that City. So on the fifth of February he approached it, and the next Day with much Resolution, and by the Cowardice of the Lanskenets who forsook their Post, he took the Portereau, one of the Suburbs, wherein those of the Town lost eight hundred Men, and the Loss would

CLII.
*The Duke
of Guise
besieges Or-
leans.*

(*j*) Eid. Ibid. Mem. de Castelnau, liv. iv. ch. viii.

(*k*) La Nouë Discours polit. & militaires, Disc. 26. p. 862. He was present at that Action; but others, as Beza, reckons only 400.

Charles
IX.1563.
Pope Pius
IV.

would have been much greater, had it not been for the Courage and Prudence of D'Andelot (l). On the 9th he took the Turrets by Surprize, and having received a great Quantity of Artillery from Paris and Nantz, he batter'd the Isles of the Town, without ceasing, but with little effect.

CLIII.
*He is
wounded
by Poltrot.*

At last, on the 18th of the same Month, after the Duke of Guise had taken the Measures which he thought necessary for making himself Master of the City in twenty-four Hours, with a certain Assurance of Success, (as he wrote to the Queen-Mother, desiring her Majesty's Pardon, if being once Master of Orleans, he should spare no body of either Sex or Age, but would put them all to the Sword, and destroy entirely the City) as he was going to his Quarters in the Evening to refresh himself, he was wounded by Poltrot, Lord of Meré, of the Province of Angoumois; he was carried to his Quarters by his Servants, wherein, notwithstanding all imaginable care taken for his Cure, he died the 24th of February.

*And dies
of it.**Addition
to his Cha-
racter.*

No body, methinks, can deny that he had been the greatest Captain of his Age, and as great a Politician; but I can't imagine how Thuanus can say, *That for certain that Lord was born for the Welfare and Glory of the Kingdom, had he lived in more quiet Times, and under a better Government.* PROPECTO GALLIÆ BONO ATQUE ORNAMENTO NATUS, SI IN PACATIORA TEMPORA ET RECTIUS ADMINISTRA-TAM REMPUBLICAM INCIDISSET (m).

That noble Historian's Reflection would have been more just and true, had the Duke of Guise begun to be known in the World only under the
Reign

(l) Thuan. lib. 34. p. 232. Beza liv. vi. p. 263.

(m) Thuan. lib. 34. p. 235.

Reign of Francis II. and Charles IX. which were tumultuous Reigns, but that of Henry II. was not the same ; indeed it was troubled much by Wars abroad, but not by intestine Commotions as that of his Sons ; and yet the said Duke, at the Instigation of the Pope's Nephew, the Cardinal Caraffe, was one who advised the King to break the Truce with the Emperor Charles V. by which he exposed the Kingdom to the very brink of its utter Ruin. *The Cardinal of Lorraine his Brother, had a great ascendant over him ; he was a profligate Man, of a very violent Temper, and what the Duke did amiss, he did it at his Brother's Persuasion.* I will allow all that, but how can this justify the Duke, and oblige us to say that he was born for the Welfare and Glory of the Kingdom, when by all his Actions from two or three Years before Henry II'd's Death to his own Death, that is for five years together at the least, he has proved to be the Occasion of the Ruin and Desolation of the Kingdom ? And it is no matter whether he has been the Author, or only the Tool and Instrument of the Miseries of France during those five last Years of his Life, to pronounce that far from being born for the Kingdom's Welfare and Glory, he was born for its Destruction ; seeing that it is plain that had it not been for his daring Genius, and his boundless Ambition, the Kingdom would have enjoy'd Peace and Tranquility, at least since King Francis II'd's Accession to the Crown. He himself was very sensible of this on his Death-bed ; for tho' he had always opposed himself to Peace in his Life-time, and especially since the first Civil War had broke out, yet he thought proper now to exhort the Queen-Mother to make Peace with the Reformed, saying, *That it was so necessary, that who-*
ever

Charles
IX.

1563.

Pope Pius
IV.

*ever should oppose it, ought to be deemed AN IMPI-
OUS MAN, and AN ENEMY TO THE KING,
AND THE KINGDOM (n).*

In a word, I ask, whether a Man who advises his King to dip his Royal Hand in the Blood of his near Relation, and who charges him with Puffillanimity, because of his Abhorrence of such a cruel Deed ; who, usurping the Royal Authority, breaks of his own accord, an Edict granted at the Instance of the General States of the Kingdom, and causes, or at least occasions the Massacre of so many unarmed Innocents ; who treats with the ancient Enemies of the Kingdom ; who forces his King to go whither he had no mind, and to comply with every thing he requires ; who opposes every Overture of Peace, not conformable to his own private Interest. I ask, I say, whether such a Man can be said to be born for the Good and the Welfare of the Country where he lives, and wherein he exercises his usurped and tyrannical Authority ? But such was Francis Duke of Guise, as the Reader may be convinced by what we have said in our first Volume, and in this ; to which I shall subjoin part of a Letter written by the Queen-Mother to Monsieur de Gonnor, dated the 9th of February 1562-3, wherein these very Words are to be found : *Burn this Letter, and do not make mention of me ; and for making Peace, as you did write to me, I must necessarily stay here ; for a hundred Things happen every day, whereby all would be undone, FOR MONSIEUR DE GUISE'S SAKE, was I too far from the Army (o).* She mistrusted him, because she knew him

(n) Id. p. 234r

(o) Additions aux Mem. de Castelnau, liv. iv. ch. 9.
p. 171.

him too averſe from Peace ; or at leaſt, that he would not conclude it before the taking of Orleans. His Corps was carried to Paris, and from thence to Joinville, where he was buried with his Anceſtors.

Charles
IX.

1562.

Pope Pius
IV.

The Reformed, at leaſt the moſt heated amongſt them, carried their Indiscretion ſo far on this Occaſion, that they did not ſcruple to make a Saint and a Martyr of Poltrot, who at the beſt was but a melancholick Fanatick ; they might have received the Benefit of his Crime, even in ſhewing their Detestation of it ; but not ſatisfied with that, ſome blinded by a falſe Zeal, extolled that Action by their Verſes made in Poltrot's praiſe : whereby they drew upon the whole Party the Indignation, not only of the Houſe of Guiſe, but likewise of all the Catholics, who made them feel the frightful Effects of it about ten Years after, upon Bartholomew's Day.

The Death of that Duke ſubverted all the great Projects of his Brother the Cardinal of Lorraine, who intended to have him declared Head of the Catholick Party in France, and to form a kind of Correſpondence with the Pope, and all the Houſe of Auſtria ; which he was in hopes to engage by his own Interests to employ in Germany the Forces of the Proteſtant Princes, and in England thoſe of Queen Elizabeth, by managing the Marriage of Mary Stuart his Niece, Queen of Scots, with the Archduke Charles, one of the Emperor's Sons ; that great Affair was on the Carpet when he received that melancholick News.

As to Poltrot, having perpetrated the wicked Action, he fled into the neighbouring Woods, wherein he could not be purſued, and likely, frightened by the Horror of his Crime, tho' he rode

CLIV.

Poltrot taken.

Charles
IX.
1563.
Pope Pius
IV.

*Interroga-
ted.*

*He charges
the Admi-
ral, Beza,
and seve-
ral others.*

rode all the Night long on a fine Spanish Horse, yet he found himself the next Morning at Olivet's Bridge, near the Place where he had committed the Murder, when he thought to be very far off; from whence he came the next Morning to a Place unknown to him, and having alighted he fell asleep, and was taken on Suspicion by one of the Duke's Secretaries, and owned the Fact. Two Days after he was brought to the Queen in the Camp, and was examined before the Cardinal of Bourbon, the Duke of Estampes, and several others of his Majesty's Privy Council, about the Fact, for what Reason, and by the Instigation of whom he had committed it?

He said, that M. de Soubise being at Orleans with the Prince of Condé in July last, he was come thither himself, and had been introduced to the Admiral by Feuquieres and Brion; that then the said Admiral proposed to him to murder the Duke of Guise, which he had refused to do; that he had been with Soubize to Lyons, and there remained till after the Battle of Dreux, when at the Admiral's Request he was sent to him by Soubize; that when he came he met the Admiral besieging Celles, and being come with him to Orleans, he the said Admiral renewed the same Proposition of murdering the Duke of Guise; and at last being persuaded by Theod. Beza and another Minister, whom he refused to name, he consented to do the Fact, and having received Money, he came to the Duke's Camp, pretending to be a Deserter from the Prince's Army; that afterwards, repenting himself of his Promise, he was come back to Orleans, for to excuse himself and repeal his said Promise; but that having been persuaded again by Beza, he had perpetrated the Fact after the manner above said, and had been taken afterwards. To
this

this he added, that he thought the Count of La Rochefoucauld was privy to the Plot for murdering the said Duke; but he entirely discharged the Prince, D'Andelot and Soubize; and said, that they had no Notice of it. Besides that, he warned the Queen to take care of herself for the future, because the Reformed thinking that she had betray'd them, were extreamly incensed against her since the Battle of Dreux; that the Admiral had sent several Spies and Assassines into the Catholick Camp, whom he had seen himself; that the Duke of Montpensier and Sanfac were particularly hinted at.

Charles IX.
1563.
Pope Pius IV.

The next Day being upon his Oath, he confessed and declared the same things, and signed his Deposition.

A Copy of that Deposition was sent to the Reisters, and by them to the Admiral, who was still at Caën; and we shall see his Answer when I shall have related the Trial, Condemnation and Execution of this Wretch.

The next Day he was brought to Paris, and a Proclamation was published from the King at Blois, forbidding all Reformed of what Quality soever to come nearer the City than ten Leagues.

He is brought to Paris.

Polrot being examined before some Presidents, Counsellors, and others of the Court of Parliament, he declared, that whatever he had said, in his first Confession, to the Charge of the Admiral, Beza and others, was entirely false; that he had committed the Murder of his own Accord, thinking, in so doing, to serve God and his Country. Then a little after he charged a-new the Admiral, but persisted in discharging Beza and others. He was put to the Rack, but said the same things.

Varies in his Depositions.

He

Charles IX. 1563. Pope Pius IV. He was condemned first to be pinched with red hot Pincers, then to be drawn and quartered by four Horses, then to have his Head sever'd, and the Trunk of his Body burnt to Ashes. At the place of Execution he varied again; for at first he declared, that the Admiral, or any body else knew nothing of his Design; then after he had been pinched, he said the contrary, and charged again the Admiral, D'Andelot, Soubize and the others, Beza excepted; then he denied it; and at last being tied to the Horses, and upon the point of being drawn, he desired to be released a while, which being granted, he charged a-new the Admiral, D'Andelot, and Soubize; which done, he was drawn; and because the Horses could not disjoint his Members, they were obliged to cut the Flesh with an Hatchet; and being quartered, his Head was sever'd, and the Trunk burnt to Ashes.

*He is tried
condemned,
and executed.*

For certain that Wretch turned mad as soon as he had committed the Crime; his Guilt filled up his Mind with such Horror, that he knew not what he did, or what he said, as it is evident by his Behaviour from the time he was taken, to the time of his Death; and besides the Horror of his Guilt, the very Thought of the severe and cruel Punishment he knew he deserved, was enough to put him entirely out of his Senses.

I shall subjoin here the Character which the Prior of Juvigné gives us of the Man. „ He „ was, says he, an inconsiderate Man, intoxicated with a (*false*) Zeal for a new Religion, „ as it were with Wine newly brew'd, and who „ for a long while had passed for a Fool amongst those of his own Party, who had other Interests in view, besides their Consciences; and who, seeing that he was such a „ Fool,

Charles IX.

1563.
Pope Pius IV.



„ Fool, charged him with dangerous Commis-
 „ sions, whereby he shewed himself able to un-
 „ dertake any thing. He had bragged that he
 „ would kill the Duke of Guise, and departed
 „ from Lyons with that Intent ; which, ac-
 „ cording to the Verses ascribed to the learned
 „ Turnebus and several others, came on a sud-
 „ den into his head, when he had heard from
 „ the Duke, that in three Days he would force
 „ Orleans and ran sack it ; That he owned in his
 „ Deposition. — He had some Commission
 „ to execute from M. de Soubize, Governor of
 „ Lyons, with the Admiral, and came to Or-
 „ leans, from whence D'Andelot sent him to
 „ serve as a Spy in the Duke of Guise's Army,
 „ with whom he feigned to be a Defserter and
 „ a Convert, till he met with an Opportunity
 „ of executing his Design. Theod. de Beza
 „ and some other Ministers, fed him with the
 „ Hopes of acquiring as much Glory by this
 „ Action, as Judith when she struck off the
 „ Head of Holophernes. (*I can't imagine
 what has induc'd this learned Commentator, in
 many other respects judicious and sincere, to charge
 Beza or any other Minister, with being the Insti-
 gators of that Crime, when it is certain by Pol-
 trot's Depositions at Paris, that he discharged
 them constantly, without ever varying as to them,
 and declared positively, that whatever he had said
 against them, when he was examined before the
 Queen, was utterly false.*)

Several Lords and Ladies of the Court hav-
 ing had the Curiosity to see the Execution, one
 of them, viz. Leonor de Humieres, Wife to
 Monsieur de Thoré, fifth Son to the Constable,
 was struck with such a Fright at that sight,

Charles IX. 1562. Pope Pius IV. *CLV. The Admiral and others Vin-*
 that she fainted away and died upon the spot
 (q).

Now, as to the Admiral and others who had been charged by Poltrot in his first Deposition; the first denied upon his Oath, that he had ever before seen that Man till the Month of January last, nor heard any one speaking of him before that time; that he had never abetted any body to murder the Duke of Guise, tho' it was true, that since he had been convinced by many Witnesses, that the said Duke and the Marshal of St. Andrew had appointed certain Persons for murdering the Prince of Condé, his Brother D'Andelot and himself, whenever he has been told that such or such a one had a mind to murder the said Duke, he had done nothing to hinder it; but that upon his Life and Honour, he had never suborned or solicited any body to do it, either by Words or Money, directly or indirectly, either by himself or by another: And as to the twenty Crowns, which the said Poltrot owns to have received from him, it is true, that about the latter end of January last he ordered such a Sum to be given to the said Poltrot, because, upon the Recommendation of M. de Feuquieres, he sent him as a Spy into the Enemies Camp: As to the other Sum of one hundred Crowns, it is true that the said Poltrot receiv'd it from him, in order to buy a better Horse, that he might make greater Diligence to give Notice of what he discovered in the Camp: And he recollects himself also, that at this second Time, which was about the Beginning of February, the said Poltrot hinted to him something about the easiness of murdering the said Duke, to which he gave no Heed, because he

(p) Addit. aux Mem. de Castelnau, Tom. II. liv. 4. ch. 10. p. 219.

he thought such an Undertaking too rash. At last, he besought her Majesty, to keep the said Poltrot close Prisoner in a Place of Safety, till the Peace should be concluded, to the end that he, as well as others charged by him, might be brought face to face with the Prisoner, challenging however the Parliaments and other partial Judges who have openly declared against them. Furthermore he says, that whenever the Judges of the Parliament should proceed to give Judgment against the said Poltrot, and execute their Sentences before such a Confrontation should have taken place, he declares his Innocence, Integrity and good Fame, notwithstanding all that they could say to the contrary (r).

Charles IX.
1562.
Pope Pius IV.

That Answer was dated at Caën the 12th of March, 1562, O. S. and subscribed thus, CHATILLON, LA ROCHEFOUCAUD, THEODORE DE BEZE. It was sent to the Queen by a Trumpet, with a Letter from the Admiral to her Majesty. But she had little Regard to the Request he made, as to the keeping of Poltrot; instead of which, she sent Orders to try, judge, condemn and execute him without Delay.

Such a way of Dealing, besides the plain Confession of the Admiral in regard of his Sentiments towards the Duke of Guise, have been a sufficient Indication of his Innocency; for several unprejudiced Historians, even of the Roman Communion, such as the Prior of Juigné, who speaking on the Point, affirms positively, *Certainly Admiral de Chatillon, the Count of La Rochefoucault, the Lords of Soubize and Feuquieres were not privy to Poltrot's Plot; that cannot be believed of Persons of that Quality, and it is so ill proved by the Murderer's Answer in the*

R 2

several

(r) Beza liv. vi. from p. 291, to 309. Thuan. lib. 34. I. 234.

Charles
IX.

1563.

Pope Pius
IV.

several Examinations, that it is plain, that he had no other View, when he charged them, than to frighten his Judges, by naming such great Men who had Arms in hand, as Chiefs of that Conspiracy (s). And again, it is utterly false that the Admiral, the Count of La Rochefoucault, or any other Chief of that Party, have had any hand in that Conspiracy (t). Agricola's Grounds of his Opinion in this Affair, are taken first from the Variations of the Deponent, and then from the Quality of Persons accused, and their Character; I will say nothing against that. But, why, if these Reasons are good and sufficient for the Discharge of the Admiral, &c. why are they not so for Beza's Discharge? Was not Beza a Nobleman? Yes, sure he was, of a Family as ancient as that of Feuquieres, nay the Admiral himself. Has Poltrot varied only on the Admiral's, &c. account, and not upon Beza's? But, if he has been constant on that Minister's account, it has been for discharging him; indeed he charged him before the Queen, but he was no sooner arrived in the Prisons of Paris, than he constantly declared that whatsoever he might have said against the two Ministers, when he was before the Queen, he had spoken it out of fear, and for the Preservation of his Life; but that it was utterly false, that Beza or the other had ever been privy to his Design. What is there then in Poltrot's Deposition that could make the Admiral innocent and Beza guilty? Nothing: on the contrary, if Poltrot is to be credited, the Admiral is guilty, and Beza innocent; for he has discharged the Admiral but once, and he has charged Beza but once. But Beza was a Mi-

(s) Addit. aux Mem. de Castelnau, liv. 4. ch. 10. p. 212.

(t) p. 220.

Minister, therefore he is guilty ; a fine thing
 indeed ! Agricola himself would not have al-
 lowed such a Consequence ; for he speaks in
 quite a different Strain of the Ministers of
 his own time in another place which I shall
 quote elsewhere. But some Ministers and some
 learned Men wrote in the praise of Poltrot's
 Action ; nay, prevailed so far upon the com-
 mon People, that he was looked upon by them
 as a holy Martyr ; very well : But is that to
 prove that Beza and the other were accessory
 to the Murder of the Duke ? They ought to
 prove first, That Beza was the Author of those
 Verses or other Writings published at that time
 upon that account ; but he has never been char-
 ged with them that I know of ; besides, it is
 one thing, methinks, to write or speak in
 the praise of a certain Action, and another
 thing to be the Adviser or Abettor of that
 Action. Therefore to charge a Man with being
 privy to that Action because he does not blame
 it, is, in my humble Opinion, to be very indis-
 creet and unjust. There is no Evidence a-
 gainst Beza, at least his Accusers did not pro-
 duce any. Poltrot himself has fully discharg-
 ed him, then Beza is innocent, at least, as much
 as the Admiral and others. I know that the
 Joy which the Reformed shewed on this
 Occasion, by too great imprudence and indis-
 cretion, afforded a Pretence to their Enemies, of
 looking on Poltrot's Crime, as the Crime of all
 the Reformed ; but that was unjust, and so
 much the more so, that I do not think they
 could single out any other Instance of that
 kind since that time. I shall not insist any more
 upon this Vindication, tho' many other Rea-
 sons might be offered to the same purpose.

Charles
IX.
1563.
Pope Pius
IV.

Charles
IX.
1563.
Pope Pius
IV.

CLVI.
*The
Queen's
Anxiety.*

Before the Duke was wounded, the Queen had already sent to Orleans the Bishop of Limoges and M. d'Oysel to confer about Peace; but all these Conferences came to nothing by the Duke's Means and Under-dealings, because he was adverse from Peace. When he was dead, the Conferences were renewed in earnest. The Queen was in such Anxieties for fear least the Prince of Condé and the Constable should agree and engross to themselves the whole Administration of the Government, that she took the most extravagant Resolution that could hardly come into a Woman's Head; for she resolved to call in a Foreign Prince, to be the only Arbitrator of Peace or War, and she pitched for that purpose upon the Duke of Wirtemberg, one of the four Protestant Princes of Germany, who had sent their Auxiliaries to the Prince of Condé. She thought that he could not be suspicious to the Guises, since the late Duke and the Cardinal his Brother had conferr'd with him the last Year at Savern; and that he would be less so to the Reformed, who took him for one of their best Friends; besides that, she was satisfied in the great Moderation and Justice of that Prince.

*She sends a
Deputy to
the Duke
of Wir-
temberg.*

Therefore being fully resolved, she sent in all haste Rascalon, one of the King's Valets de Chambre in Ordinary, who being arrived at Stutgard, was admitted to the Duke's Audience on the 13th of March; he presented to him his Credentials, and having opened his Commission by a set Speech, he delivered it in Writing; the sum of which was, That the King and Queen gratefully acknowledg'd the many and great Services the Kingdom had received from him and from the Elector Palatine, in the Reign of Francis I. and Henry II. and would
never

never forget them ; that the said Kingdom being now rent by Civil Wars, she besought that he would be pleased to come to them, that he might be fully satisfied as to the true Causes and Reasons of these Commotions, which very likely had been misrepresented to the Princes of Germany ; that if he could not come into France, at least he would come to the Frontiers of Champaign, where the Queen would meet him. Then the Duke asked him how and why he was desired to come into France ? To which the Envoy replied, That by the Death of the King of Navarr, and of late of the Duke of Guise, the whole Authority in the Kingdom was devolved to the Queen, during the King's Minority ; that she saw no body in the Kingdom whose Credit and Authority was great enough to keep the Subjects in awe, because of the Licentiousness to which they had given themselves, refusing to pay the Fees to their Lords, and seizing upon the King's Revenues ; that for these Causes his Highness was intreated to come into France, with threethousand Horse and Foot at the King's Charge, to take upon him the Administration, and that the Queen would cause the Subjects to obey him. To this the Duke said, that he had been told the true Cause of the War, was the Infringement of the Januarian Edict ; and since those who had been the Occasion, or even the Authors of it were dead, it was to be hoped, that the Commotions proceeding from thence could be easily appeased ; that it was his Opinion that the Emperor should be desired to interfere ; and that he himself had already took upon him to enter upon that Subject in the last Diet of Francfort. Rascalon replied, That there were other Causes of the War, as it was very plain, since tho', not only the said Edict, but

Charles
IX.
1563.
Pope Pius
IV.

Charles IX. 1563. Pope Pius IV. even new additional Terms had been offered to the Prince; (*that was utterly false* :) nevertheless it had been till then impossible to come to any reasonable Appointment with his Party. As to the rest, That the King and Queen desired so eagerly his coming into France, that if in compliance to them, he would set upon that Journey, he was commanded to deliver to him, for the Discharge of his Expences, the Money which was at Messa, destin'd for the Payment of the three thousand Reisters of Groubach; and that he would meet him and bring to him his Commission, signed by the King and Queen with the Advice of the Privy Council; That, at least, he would be pleased to come to Barle-Duc or to Messa with Frederick Elector Palatine, Volfang Duke of Deux-Ponts, William Landgrave of Hesse, and Charles Marquis of Baden; and that the Queen would meet him there with the chief Princes and Lords of the Privy Council.

*That
Prince's
Answer.*

The Duke took four Days for considering, and delivering his Answer, which he did at the appointed time, and said, that he thanked their Majesties, and was much willing to do Service to the King, as he had done to his Predecessors; that he pitied much the sad Fate of the Kingdom, for the Welfare whereof he caused publick Prayers to be put up every Day, as he did himself in private; That he could not accept of the Commission offered unto him, finding himself too unequal for it, and his Health being so much impaired; and for that last Reason, not able to undertake a Journey upon the Frontiers. However, it was his Opinion, that the Prince's Party had armed themselves only against the Infringers of the King's Edicts, and not for any other Reason; therefore the Queen could do nothing

thing better for averting the just Judgments of God, than to take care that the pure Worship of God, free from Error and Superstition, should be settled in the Kingdom, taking away all manner of Scandals; That in order to settle a General Pacification in the Kingdom, they ought to agree upon a certain Confession of Faith, and publish it, after the Example of the Augustan Confession, which having been published in the Year 1530, the Peace was settled in Germany in the Year 1555, &c. (v).

Charles
IX.
1563.
Pope Pius
IV.

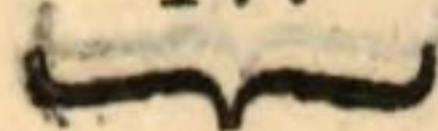
Such was the Success of that Negociation, which was kept so secret, that the Prince at Ouzain, the Princess nor D'Andelot at Orleans, had no notice of it; and that was done on purpose, lest the Prince's understanding the vast Troubles the Queen was in, they should improve that Opportunity to their best Advantage, to avoid which, the Queen shewed as good a Countenance as ever, and the Catholick Army pushed on the Siege of Orleans with all possible Resolution.

The Difficulties which the Queen laboured under were not small; there was no Money in the King's Coffers, and the Troops being not paid, she was not in a Condition to push on the War. She was afraid, and may be not without Reason, that the English having already set their foot in Normandy, they should take a fancy to improve their Conquest, and re-take Possession of all those fine Provinces bordering upon the Ocean, which they had lost under Henry of Windsor, and Charles VII. of France: The Emperor on the other side, insisted warmly upon the Restitution of the three Bishopricks Metz, Toul and Verdun; and having his
Troops

(v) Thuan. lib. 34. p. 235, 236. Beza liv. vi. p. 272, &c.

Charles
IX.

1563.

Pope Pius
IV.

Troops ready, it was not unlikely, that improving the Opportunity of the present Troubles, he would get by Force, what he was sensible enough he should never obtain by Agreement. These Considerations, especially the two last, had made a very deep Impression in the Queen's Mind, which lasted even till some Months after the Peace with the Reformed, as it is evident by her Letters to Monsieur de Gonnor, and the Bishop of Rennes, then Embassadors of France to the Emperor (*u*). Therefore, in order to get herself rid of all these Troubles and Anxieties, since the Battle of Dreux, having the Prince Prisoner, she had begun to make some Overtures of Peace, and had felt his Pulse by several Persons upon that Subject.

At first, his Highness, tho' not averse from Peace, nevertheless proposed such high Terms which could not be accepted; but many things concurred together to mollify his Heart, besides his own Reflections upon the present State of the Kingdom. And first of all, his Soul was not inaccessible at this time to a certain Jealousy against the Admiral; that General's great Parts and Capacity had supplied the Prince's Absence, at least in the Minds of the Party, in so much that his Highness begun to think that he was not so much regarded since he was a Prisoner, as before; and that they thought they could do as well without as with him. Secondly, the Junction of the Admiral with the English in Normandy, and the great Progress he made in conjunction with them in that Province, really grieved the Prince. It had been with the greatest Reluctancy that he had consented to the Treaty made with Queen Elizabeth; and as well as the

(*u*) To be found in the Addit. to the Mem. of Castelnau, Tom. II. liv. iv. ch. 12. from Page 234, to 249.

the Queen-Mother, he was afraid lest if they had once set their foot in the Kingdom, it would not be an easy matter to dislodge them: But thirdly, what prevailed the more over him, was the Promises made to him in the Queen-Mother's Name, that he should succeed his Brother the late King of Navarr as Lieutenant General of the Kingdom, and enjoy all the Prerogatives and Privileges of a first Prince of the Blood, till the Prince of Navarr his Nephew should be at Age. All these Considerations, which the Queen-Mother took care to keep alive in his Mind, prevailed so far upon him, that, at last, he consented in earnest to come to a Treaty (x).

Charles
IX.
1563.
Pope Pius
IV.

The Queen and the Prince being so disposed, her Majesty, who was not at all displeased with the Duke of Guise's Death, had a Conference at St. Mesmin with the Princess of Condé, whom she received with the greatest Demonstrations of Love and Good-will, and flatter'd her with the Hopes of seeing the Prince holding the same Rank and Place at Court, and in the Kingdom, as his Brother the King of Navarr had formerly done: All this was only a Show, whereby the Prince as well as the Princess suffered themselves to be imposed upon too easily and too hastily.

CLVII.
*Negotiations for
Peace.*

However, the 7th of March was appointed to hold a Conference between the Prince and the Constable at a Place called *L'Isle aux Bœufs*, near Orleans, where being brought both under a strong Guard, they began the Conferences, which were put off till the next Day; and the Constable having declared that he would never consent to have the Januarian Edict restored,

(x) Idem Ibid. especially p. 238, and 39, of the same Book.

Charles
IX.

1563.

Pope Pius
IV.

new Terms were proposed, at which several of the Reformed Party, when they heard of them, made a great noise, because the Rights and Privileges granted to them by the Edict of January were much restrained by these new Propositions, and their Innocence in rising in Arms for the Preservation of the said Edict was thereby exposed to be called in question. Nevertheless, in order to conclude the Treaty with more Ease and Expedition, the Prince obtained leave to go to Orleans, upon his Parole, there to confer with his Council about these Points; the Constable likewise obtained leave to go into the Catholick Camp, and a Truce for some days was published.

The Prince being at Orleans, desired to have a Conference with the Ministers, and three of them were deputed to his Highness for that purpose, viz. Messieurs Desmeranges Minister of Orleans, Pierius Minister of Blois, and La Roche Chandieu Minister of Paris. The Prince proposed two Questions to resolve, 1st, Whether he would do well to declare to her Majesty, that having armed for the Observation of the Edict of January, it was reasonable, that the said Edict should be restored to its full Force, Meaning and Purport, before he should lay down his Arms. 2^{dly}, Whether being not able to obtain that Point, he could desire the Queen to propose what she thought the most conducive to the publick Welfare, and the Restoration of Peace and Tranquillity. The Ministers seeing that the Prince had a mind to make Peace at any rate, remonstrated to his Highness that they could not recede the least in the World from the Rights and Liberties granted by the said Edict, without an evident Ruin of their Religion; the Prince told them, that he would

would do it, and bad them go and confer about these two Points with their Brethren, and to bring in their Answer on the next Day, the 9th of March.

Charles
IX.
1563.
Pope Pius
IV.

The Ministers being assembled to the Number of 72, after having considered the Matter, delivered their Opinion to the Prince in Writing ; the sum whereof is as follows,

CLVIII.
*The Mini-
sters Re-
monstran-
ces to the
Prince.*

1. That the Januarian Edict granted by the Consent of the Deputies of all the Provinces, and according to the Intention of the General States of the Kingdom, and published and registred by the Parliaments, should be restored without the least Restriction or Exception.
2. That in order to prevent the Propagation of Heresies and of all monstrous Opinions, the King would be pleased to receive under his Royal Protection the Confession of Faith tendered to his Majesty in June 1561, and the Professors of it; and to provide that the Atheists, Libertines, Anabaptists and Servetists should be severely punished. That the Reformed should be at liberty of meeting together, and of holding Consistories and Synods according to their Ecclesiastical Discipline, without being opposed by the Governors, Magistrates, or any other Officers.
4. That Children baptized by a Minister should not be baptized again, nor Persons married by a Minister, married again by a Priest, and Children born of such Persons married by a Minister, should be acknowledg'd as lawful Heirs.
5. That their Religion should no longer be called New, since it is grounded upon the ancient Doctrine of the Prophets and Apostles.
6. That those who for Religion's sake have been deprived of their Estates, Goods, Offices, Dignities or Honours, should be restored to the same ; the Sentence given against them repealed ; and their Case

Charles IX. 1563. Pope Pius IV. Case examined and tried again by Persons of an unquestionable Probity. 7. That the Authors or Abettors of the Massacres of Vassy, Sens and such other Places, should be prosecuted and punished after their Deserts. Such were the Heads of the Articles tendered to the Prince by the Ministers. But the Nobility being tired with the Civil War, and the Prince inclining so much to Peace, who could have insisted upon such Terms whereby they were in a Necessity of continuing the War?

CLIX. *The Prince concludes the Treaty with the Queen.* Therefore the Prince having publickly declared that he would follow no other but the Nobility and Gentry's Advice, the Ministers were no more consulted, and he concluded the Treaty with the Queen on the 12th of March, admitting all the Exceptions and Restrictions to the Edict of January, which had been proposed. And on the 19th, the King being at Amboise, subscribed the Edict of Pacification, which was called after the Name of that Place.

CLX. *Edict of Pacification.* By that Edict the Nobility, and all those who had full Power in their Jurisdiction, were allowed the free and publick Exercise of the Reformed Religion, in their Castles or Houses for their own Family, and of all those who shall have a mind to meet with them.

The Nobles and Gentlemen having any Fief, are allowed for themselves and their own Family the free Exercise of their Religion in their Houses, provided that they should not inhabit Towns, Boroughs or Villages subject to a higher Jurisdiction.

In every Bailiwick, Seneschalship and other Government, from whence there is Appeal to any superior Court of Parliament, as Peronne, Mont-Didier, Roye and La Rochelle, there shall be a Town, in the Suburbs whereof, the Re-

Reformed shall have the free and publick Exercise of their Religion, (*by the Edict of January a convenient Place was allowed to them for that Purpose, in the Suburbs of every City, Town or Borough:*) And in the mean while it shall be allowed to every one to live peaceably in his own House, without being prosecuted, molested or constrained in any thing as to his Conscience.

Charles
IX.
1563.
Pope Pius
IV.

In all the Cities wherein the Reformed Religion was publickly professed on the 7th of this Month of March, the same shall be continued in one or two Places of the said Cities, as the King shall think meet to order it, the Viscounty and Precincts of Paris excepted.

Then follows an Act of Oblivion for all past Offences; the Prince is discharged from giving any Account of the King's Money he had levied for the Expences of the War; he is acknowledged as a faithful and trusty Kinsman to the King, and well-intentioned for the good of the Kingdom. All the Nobles, Gentlemen, Officers, and others who have followed him, in whatever they have done, are declared to have done it for the King's Service, and with a good Intent (y).

Such was the Edict of Pacification agreed upon the 12th of March, signed by the King at Amboise on the 19th, and publish'd in the Camp before Orleans on the 22d, with so great a Dissatisfaction of the Inhabitants of Orleans, especially because the Prince had not waited till the Arrival of the Admiral, that the Soldiery, notwithstanding the Execution of some of them, could not be kept from demolishing the remnant of several Churches.

We

(y) Thuan. lib. 34. p. 237, ---8, ---9. Beza liv. vi. p. 280, — 290.

Charles

IX.

1563.

Pope Pius

IV.



We must come now to the Admiral, whom we have left at Caën; after the Surrender of that City, he sent several of his Captains into many parts of the Provinces, who made several Conquests. Amongst others, Captain de Colombieres was ordered to march to Bayeux, and was join'd by Captain Pierre-Pont; he endeavoured to enter the City on the 17th of February, but was repulsed by Captain Giulio Ravilia Ruffo, who had taken Possession of it some few days before, having got some Soldiers from Renouart Governor of Caën; that Resistance lasted till Colombieres, having received three Cannons from Caën, made a Breach in the Wall, then the Inhabitants sent to the Admiral asking a Capitulation, which was granted on condition that they should pay ten thousand Livres towards the Expences of the Army. But, as they debated by some other Deputies in order to obtain some Abatement of the Sum, the said Captain Giulio, conscious of the many Crimes he had committed, hid himself; his Soldiers hearing of this, opened the Gates to the Besiegers upon the 4th of March, who committed many Outrages in the City, entering the Houses and murdering some of those who had been remarkable for their obstinate Resistance; some others were publicly executed by Sentence of the Provost of the Camp, amongst whom was an Overseer of the Demesne, who had been formerly a Reformed, and having abjured, was one of the Advisers and Assistants to the said Captain Giulio, but especially the Priests were very ill used. As to that Captain, he was betrayed by one of his Servants, and found concealed in a Canon's House, wherein he had caused himself to be mured up with a certain Quantity of Gammons and Flasks of the best Wines, and a young beautiful Maid which

Maid which he had stolen away by force. From thence he was brought to Caën, where, being convicted of divers Crimes, and especially of the said Rape, at the Instances of the Girl's Father, who prosecuted him, he was condemned to be hung and executed (z).

Charles
IX.
1563.
Pope Pius
IV.

St. Lo, Vire, Honfleur, Pont-Audemar, and several other Places were taken by the Admiral's Troops, insomuch that there remained to the Catholick Party but three Towns in Low Normandy, viz. Cherbourg, Granville, and St. Michael-Mont, when the Admiral was obliged to leave that Province by the Prince's Orders. He received an Express from his Highness, who let him know that the Articles of Peace were almost agreed upon, and that he desired him to come in haste to be present at the Conclusion. Therefore he departed from Caën on the 14th of March, with his Cavalry only, which he divided in two Bodies; the Van composed of four Cornets, was led by the Prince of Porcian; and the Admiral led the Rear. On the 18th he took his way thro' Falaise and Argentan, which surrendered by Capitulation, and paid ten thousand Livres; he took some other Places in his way to Orleans, where he arrived on the 23d with all his Forces, which were very considerable, and in a better Condition than they had ever been seen before.

He was much surprized to see that the Treaty had been agreed, drawn, signed and sealed in his Absence, and without his Participation, five Days before; the next Day he spoke freely his Mind in the Prince's Council. He said, that they ought to remember, that at the beginning of these Commotions the Triumvirs had offered to restore the Edict of January, Paris only ex-

VOL. II.

S

cepted;

(z) Thuan. & Beza, ubi supra.

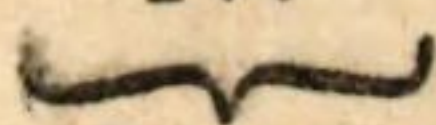
Charles

IX.

1563.

Pope Pius

IV.



cepted; and that considering the present, the State of the Reformed Churches had never been so good, and in a way of growing better and better than now, two of the three Authors of the present War being dead, and the third Prisoner of War, which was a sufficient Pledge for the Prince's Safety; that having restrained the Churches to the Number of one in every Bailiwick, with such other Restrictions and Exceptions to the Edict of January, they had ruined more Churches by that single Stroke of their Pen, than the Enemy would have done in several Years with their Army, and so on. In a word he spoke so well to the purpose, that not only those who had not been waited for to be consulted, were much discontented, but even those who had given their Consent were almost ashamed of what they had done; and all were upon the point of making a new Confederacy for breaking that Treaty: (It was rumour'd that the Prince had been enticed to make that Peace by the Charms of the Queen's Maids of Honour:) and tho' the Prince opposed to all this the Promises which the Queen had made to him, that in a short time he would succeed to his Brother the King of Navarr as Lieutenant General of the Kingdom; and that then, conjointly with the Queen, they would obtain whatever they would ask, as he had been told; nevertheless, the Complaints of the Gentry would not have ceased, had it not been for the Admiral, who was obliged to interpose (*a*).

Indeed, if we consider the Circumstances of Times, they could not be more favourable than they were now for the Reformed; the Queen, as we have observed, was not in a Condition to
refuse

(*a*) Beza liv. vi. p. 335. D'Aubigne Tom. I. liv. 3. ch. 26.

refuse them any just Demand ; there was no Money in the Exchequer for continuing the War ; her Troops were ill paid, and in great Misery for want of Necessaries, as the Duke himself had wrote to Monsieur de Gonnor a few Weeks before his Death ; the said Duke, who by his Credit and Authority supplied so many things, and was the main support of the Army was dead ; and the King of Navarr and Marshal of St. Andrew being dead likewise, and the Constable Prisoner, there remained none who had Experience, or Credit enough to trust him with the Command of the Army.

Charles
IX.
1563.
Pope Pius
IV.

On the contrary the Prince had received a plentiful Succour from England in Money and warlike Stores ; his Army under the Command of the Admiral was much increased ; his Cavalry numerous and well mounted, his Reisters paid off their Arrears, and chearfully disposed to do good Service : Had he waited only till the Admiral's Arrival, before he concluded the Treaty, he would have obtained the Restoration of the Edict of January. And indeed he committed two great Faults in putting himself in such Hurry. 1st, He gave the Publick room to suspect that he had acted only for his private Interest when he had taken up Arms, and not for the Preservation of that Edict, as he had so often published to the World, seeing that the Opposers of his Grandeur were no sooner dead, but he had forsaken the Cause, for the Defence whereof he had declared oftentimes, that he chose to lay down his own Life. 2. He exposed himself and the whole Party to the just Resentment of Queen Elizabeth, to whom he had engaged his Word, never to hearken to any Agreement with their Common Enemy without her Consent ; and who had proved so

Charles IX. faithful and generous a Friend to him and his Party.

1563. Pope Pius IV. True it is, that he had been extremely against that Term required by the said Queen, that she should be put in possession of Havre de Grace, &c. But whereas he had consented to it at last, and that the Queen had faithfully performed whatever she had promised, he ought to have done the same: But Ambition and Sensuality were, at this time, two Stumbling-Blocks against which he split (*b*).

However, the Queen-Mother being sensible, that if the Admiral arrived before the Conclusion of the Treaty, he would never consent to it, had made such haste, that it was registered and published in the Parliament of Paris, in the Court of Aids, in the Chamber of Accounts; and was proclaimed in the Streets of Paris by his Majesty's Heralds, all on the same Day, viz. the 27th of March. We shall see in the next Book how it was received in other Provinces (*c*).

But before we leave Orleans we must relate a strange but just Execution of an Adulterer and Adultress, by Sentence of the Governor; that Gentleman was Monsieur Puygreffier, Lord of St. Cyr, whom the Prince had constituted Governor of Orleans when he marched out of that City with his Army: Now Deslandes Lord Du Moulin being accused and convicted of having had a Carnal Conversation with one Mrs. Godard, Wife to John Godard, a Lieutenant of the Provost of the Marshals of Blois, while her Husband was in the Army, they were both condemned to be hung and executed together in the publick place at Orleans, on the 26th of March; which being reported at Court, several Cour-

(*b*) Aubigné *ibid.* Mezeray Tom. V. p. 75.

(*c*) Thuan. lib. 35. p. 241. Beza *ibid.*

Courtiers of both Sexes were not ashamed to say, That if it were but for the Strictness of Morals and Rigidity of the Reformed Religion, they would be always averse from it (d).

Charles IX.
1563.
Pope Pius IV.

Peace having been proclaimed at Orleans, and the Reformed having received the Sacrament on the 28th, the Troops marched out of the City, and every one retired to his own House. As to the Reisters, they were sent into Champagne, under the Conduct of the Prince of Porcian, where they remained till paid, to the great Detriment of the Country People, and of several Abbies.

CLXI.
The Prince's Army disbanded.

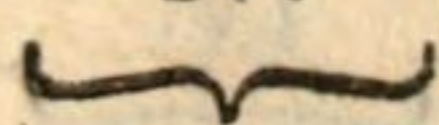
I could not relate what was done in the several Provinces of the Kingdom during this first Civil War, and fix the various Events upon their proper time, without breaking too often the Thread of this History, which Digressions would have been displeasing to the Reader; therefore I thought that the best Method was, first to give an Account of whatever had any Relation to the two main Armies, that of the Prince, and that of the Triumvirs; and then come to take a general View of the State and Condition of all the Provinces, beginning with Picardy. I do not intend to enter into all the particulars; it would be an endless Work was I to give an exact Account of all the Injustices, Perfidies, Treasons, Murders, Barbarities and other Enormities of that kind, which have been committed during this first Civil War, especially in the Southern Provinces, where the two Parties were the most exasperated one against the other.

CLXII.
A View of the State of the several Provinces.

That Province was not much troubled with these Civil Commotions, because the Catholics

PICARDY.

Charles
IX.
1563.
Pope Pius
IV.



Amiens.

Abbeville.

*Of Isle of
FRANCE.*

found almost no body that resisted them. Nevertheless the Reformed were not allowed to be at rest, for as many as did fall into their Enemies hands, were murdered or sent to Goal, their Goods were forfeited, some exiled themselves, and a few who could not take this Course found a Refuge amongst their Friends of the Catholick Religion. At Amiens the Catholicks searched the Reformed Houses, and carried away their Bibles, Psalm and Prayer-Books; they likewise entered the Meeting-house of the Reformed, on the 13th of May 1562, broke the Pulpit and Pews, took away the Bibles and Psalm-Books, and burnt them publickly; they ordered the Reformed to depart the City; they forced those who obeyed not to go to Mass, and murdered those who refused to comply. At Abbeville the Sedition of the Catholicks was much greater; for the Governor having desired the Magistrate to repress in time the Fury of the Mob, who forced and pillaged the Houses of the Reformed, the Populace came in Arms to the Town-house, and slew, in the most cruel manner, the Governor with nine Soldiers that waited upon him; and with the same Fury they ran to the Castle, where they murdered all those they met with, amongst whom was the Governor's Son (e).

No doubt but Paris, the chief Town of the Kingdom, wherein the Triumvirates main force resided, exceeded all others, and committed during the first War, many great and terrible Spoils upon the Reformed, many were publickly executed, several being burnt alive. On one side the Populace were hungry after Spoils, and thirsty after Blood: And on the other, the Parliament

(e) Beza liv. 7. p. 344, 45, &c. Dinoth. lib. 2. p.

liament spared no body that fell into their hands, without any regard for Age, Sex or Condition, who were taken returning from Orleans, or the Prince's Army, or from any Town belonging to his Party. Several Deputies of the Parlia-
Charles IX.
1563.
Pope Pius IV.

ment were sent to divers Towns and Cities, to proceed against the Reformed without Appeal. At Senlis the Reformed met with very hard *Senlis.*

Usage, from the 12th of April till some time after the Edict of Pacification, by the means of *Claudius Streg* and *William Bertbaut* Governors thereof, upholden by *Terouenne* and *Favier* Counsellors of the Parliament of Paris; many were murdered with great Cruelty, several unjustly condemned and executed by Sentence of the Judge, others redeemed themselves paying great Fines, some were condemned to be whipt and the Sentence executed upon them unmercifully; others sent to the Gallies, and a vast number were kept prisoners in Jail. At Meaux the Reformed were in great numbers, *Meaux.* and continued their publick Exercise of Religion, till the end of June, when the Images were broken to pieces, and the Priests withdrew themselves without any Molestation or Hindrance. But the Parliament of Paris published a Decree against the Reformed Inhabitants, whereby their Persons, their Houses and Goods were forfeited to the first Occupier who would or could seize upon them. Another Decree of the 13th of July was published against the Ministers, Elders, Deacons and other Officers of the Church; notwithstanding which the Reformed Inhabitants ceased not to assemble, and refused to comply with the said Orders; therefore at the Instances of the Parliament, Monsieur de Lioux, Brother to Montluc, was sent to Meaux, wherein he enter'd on the 25th

Charles
IX
1563.
Pope Pius
IV.

of July, with about 120 Men of Stroffy's Regiment, and with the Consent of the Inhabitants, which was the occasion of their ruin ; for the very next Day the Mass began to be said again in the City. The 6th of August Orders were given to the Inhabitants, to bring all their Arms and Weapons into the Town-house, whereunto many obeyed ; others, to the Number of three hundred Foot, and one hundred Horse, went out of the City under the Command of Captain Bithinie, and went thro' Champaign to Moncornet, where they thought to meet the Prince of Porcian, but he was gone a little before to the Frontiers of Germany, to meet D'Andelot with the Reisters; so being obliged to separate themselves, because the Country was surrounded by Enemies, they perish'd in different manners ; and of all that number about thirty-five only escaped, who fled to Orleans.

La Chapelle aux Ursins succeeding *Lioux* in the Government of Meaux, the Reformed had some Respite, which was but of a short duration ; for *de Boisy*, who succeeded him upon the 21st of September, caused the Walls of the great Market to be pull'd down, and the Gates thereof to be broken. Some time after, there came two Companies of Soldiers that committed a thousand Enormities, forcing Women and Virgins, murdering in an inhuman manner the poor, old, Decrepits, and dashing to pieces the poor innocent Babes ; several Men and Women were unjustly executed in publick. These Cruelties lasted till after the Edict of Peace.

CHAM-
PAIGN.

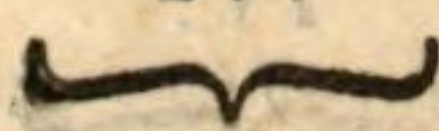
Whereas this Province was for the most part under the Jurisdiction of the Duke of Guise, the Cardinals of Lorraine and Guise, Archbishops of Rheims, and the Grand Prior of France, no wonder if the Reformed Inhabitants were exposed

posed to many Hardships, during this first War ; many cruel Murders were committed against them at Troyes, Chaalons, Bar-sur-Seine, Espernay, and several other places. The 19th of November a Duke of Lunebourg (who when in the Service of K. Henry II. had had a Quarrel with the Duke of Guise :) being arrived at Rameru, five Leagues distant from Troyes, with only eighteen Horse, in order to go to Orleans, as it was thought, Bussy d'Amboise Governor of Chaalons having notice of it, sent after him an Officer with some Men, who overtook him at the said place; they came to his Lodging, where he was sitting by the Fire, six of his Servants or Attendants were slain, and himself wounded, with thirteen Pistol-shot; which done, they carried him in a Litter to Chaalons, where he died a few days after of his Wounds. His Baggage was plundered by the said Officer, named Malfontaine, an Apostate from the Reformed Religion, who triumphing on that worthy Exploit, he caused eighteen Horses, eighteen Cloaks, eighteen Pair of Boots, and eighteen Pair of Pistols, to be led, and carried before him.

Charles
IX.
1563.
Pope Pius
IV.

At Troyes they were quiet enough as long as Anthony Caraccioli Bishop of the place was in the City; but having been obliged to quit it because he followed the Reformed Doctrine, he was succeeded by D'Esclavoles, a Dependent of the Duke of Guise, and an Enemy to the said Doctrine; then the Duke of Nevers, Governor of Champaign came into the City, about the beginning of August; that Lord had publicly professed the Reformed Religion; he was Nephew to the King of Navarr and the Prince of Condé, by his Mother's side, Margaret of Bourbon, and had promised upon his Honour by several Letters and Messages to his Uncle of Condé,

Charles
IX.
1563.
Pope Pius
IV.



Condé, that he would come and join him at Orleans, with a strong Body of Nobility and Troops, and even of late he had renewed his Promises to James Spifame, formerly Bishop of Nevers, and now a Minister, who had been sent to the said Duke by the Prince; nevertheless being enticed by Desbordes, one of his Favourites, and Vigenaire his Secretary, he forsook the Prince, and took party against him; and in order to ingratiate himself with the Triumvirs, and to wipe off all manner of Suspicion of his still adhering to the Reformed Party, he deprived them, at his Arrival at Troyes, of the Liberty of meeting together, granted to them by the Edict. Then the Populace encouraged by this, first took away their Bibles and Prayer-Books, tore them to pieces, and burnt them publickly. The Cuirassiers of the said Duke, with other Soldiers, forced the Houses of the Reformed and took away their Arms. Those who were known to have been at Orleans, or to have armed in the City, were sent to Jail, and their Houses were plundered; the Children were re-baptiz'd, those who had been married by a Minister were obliged to be married again. Such being the Confusion in the City, many went out of it, in the Houses of whom Soldiers were quartered at Discretion; and those who were gone without a Licence were condemned to a perpetual Exile. The Furniture and Goods of many were sold by Auction, and forfeited; those who remained in the City were either hang'd, or drowned, or slain by the Soldiery, the Magistrate commanding these Violences, or at least, conniving at them.

*Bar-sur-
Seine.*

At Bar-sur-Seine, the Reformed had made themselves Masters of the Town at the beginning of the War, without any Tumult; and where-

whereas no Violence had been done to the Catholics, either to their Persons or Goods, many Reformed fled to this place, as to a certain place of Refuge ; for they did not think that those who maintained Peace and Union with their Neighbours, even in the midst of the Civil War, would be prosecuted with open Force. They lived for a little while in that State of Peace and Quietness one with another, Catholics and Reformed, till the Catholics of the neighbouring Places, zealous of their Happiness, came with about three hundred Foot, and laid siege before the Town. The besieged made a Sally upon them, and killed a great number of them. That Loss obliged the Besiegers to send for Succours to Troyes, and Nevers sent them his Company of Cuirassiers, with some Pieces of Artillery, which were posted against the Citadel. The Troops in the Town, seeing they were not strong enough to withstand, went out of it, and some of the Inhabitants went along with them unarmed. By this means the Besiegers made themselves Masters of the City, without much ado, there being no body to resist ; they murdered without any Distinction of Age or Sex, the rest of the Inhabitants Reformed ; there is no manner of Cruelties and Barbarities which they did not put in use against them, dashing to pieces the Babes, ripping the Bellies of Women, plucking out the Hearts of some Men, and devouring it raw as it was ; nay, there was a Father, a Solicitor of the Exchequer, (his Name was Ralet) so unnaturally inhuman, that he caused his own Son to be hang'd. But a few Months after the Town being taken again by a Party of the Prince, that Monster was condemned to be tied up to the Roof of his own House, and there shot to death, and some

Charles
IX.
1563.
Pope Pius
IV.

Charles
IX.

1563.

Pope Pius
IV.*La Cha-
rité.*

some of those who had been so barbarously cruel were likewise put to death.

The Town of La Charité being in the Possession of the Reformed, was besieged by a Lieutenant of the Duke of Nevers, and the Besieged having withstood an Assault, considering their number, they thought that they were not in a condition to resist any longer, therefore they surrendered upon honourable Terms, which were not kept, tho' the chief Officers had promised upon their Oath to observe them. The principal Condition was this, That the Reformed that were in the Town should enjoy a perfect Liberty of Conscience, and be free from all Harm. But the next Day the Officers consulted together, whether they ought to keep their Faith with Huguenots? They considered that every honest Man is bound to keep his Faith, tho' it were to his own detriment, when he has to deal with an honest Man; but that there was no such Obligation with Infidels. After several Debates, they concluded unanimously, That they were not obliged to keep their Promises with those who had rebelled against God and the King. Then they fell upon as many as they could find, clap'd them in Goal, tried and condemned them as guilty of Rebellion, Sedition and Heresy, part of them were executed, and the rest forfeited all their Goods.

Sens.

The Massacre of Sens was perpetrated on the 12th of May 1562, and lasted for three Days together, whereby above a hundred innocent Persons unarmed lost their Lives in different manners, some more cruelly than others; one Mr. Landry, a noted Merchant, was thrown out of a Window and received upon the point of Halberds, then cast alive into the common Sewer; a Serjeant of the Provost was brought to

to the publick place and there stoned to death. A Gentlewoman, Wife to a Doctor in Physick, named Ithier, was undressed by them stark naked, had her Breasts cut off before the Face of her two young Daughters, and after having used her in the most brutish Manner, they cast her alive into the River. On the 13th of May, the second Day of the Massacre, a rumour was spread in the City at nine in the Evening, of a Miracle happened in St. Hillary's Church, near the Gate thro' which the Reformed passed when they went to their Meeting, viz. That the Crucifix had turned its Back, of its own accord, to the Reformed Church; the Priests certifying withal, that they had seen it weeping. That Rumour being spread, all the Bells of the City were set a ringing, many Women brought Candles as an Offering; and they took that as an evident Token of God's Approbation of the Massacre, therefore they began it anew.

Charles
IX.
1563.
Pope Pius
IV.

In a word, there was no City, Town, Borough, Village or Hamlet, in all that Province, wherein the Reformed Inhabitants were not cruelly persecuted, at the Guises Instigation, but especially the Cardinal of Lorrain's and the Cardinal of Guise's (*f*). And it is very observable, that at the very same time that these things were doing at Sens, by the Connivance and even the Commands of the Guises, the Triumvirs caused a Declaration to be published at Paris in the King's Name, whereby he was made to say, that his Will and Pleasure was, that his Edict of January should be strictly kept through-

(*f*) All this is extracted out of Dinoth. lib. 2. p. 145, — 146. Beza liv. vii. p. 337, — 500. Thuan. lib. xxxi. p. 123, — 126.

Charles IX. throughout his Kingdom, Paris and its Suburbs only excepted.

1563.
Pope Pius IV.

BUR-
GUNDY.

The Reformed fared no better in Burgundy than in Champaign: The Duke of Aumale, Brother to the Duke of Guise, being Governor of that Province, left no Stone unturned to extirpate them out of that Country. Notwithstanding the King's repeated Orders to the Parliament for publishing and registering the Januarian Edict, the Credit of the Governor prevailed over the Obedience due to his Majesty.

Dijon.

The Mayor of Dijon, with a Canon of the Cathedral, who took the Title of Syndick for the Clergy, having falsely given the Court to understand, that the Reformed held no manner of Assembly at Dijon, nor in any other Place of the Dukedom, (tho' at Dijon only they were much above two thousand in Number :) Orders were sent to M. de Tavanès, Deputy Governor of that Province, to forbid the Reformed Assemblies at Dijon and other Frontier Towns. Nevertheless, on the 8th of April 1592, upon proper Application, they obtained from Court Orders contrary to these; and on the 12th, new Orders were sent to the Parliament, and to Tavanès for registering and publishing the Edict of January; but all that was only a Show, for the Guises influencing the Parliament, they did not obey. Tavanès (who was afterwards Marshal of France) improved this Opportunity of enriching himself, and sparing the Blood he spared not the Purfes of the Reformed. After the Massacre of Vassy he forbade them to assemble together for hearing Sermons, praying, singing of Psalms, either in publick or private. Then he banished the Reformed out of the City, and above two thousand of both

both Sexes, and of all Conditions and Ages went out.

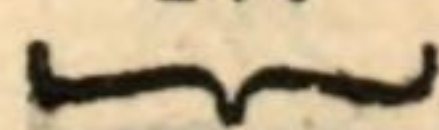
Charles IX.

Being obliged to go to Chaalons, he charged the Mayor and the Sheriffs with the Care of the City, with full Liberty of expelling all those whom they should suspect; accordingly many Outrages and Cruelties were committed, a great number of Men, Women and Children being expelled, even the Sick and Lame, many of whom were reduced to the greatest Straits. On the 7th of July, they caused a Proclamation to be read, whereby the Peasants were allowed to rise in Arms, and to pursue the Huguenots, (as they called them) to plunder and murder them at their pleasure. The Catholicks were forbidden under very severe Penalties, to receive in their Houses any of the Exiles, or to afford them the Necessaries of Life, as Meat, Drink, or any help whatsoever. The same thing was done in other Cities or Towns of that Government; and the Articles of Faith drawn by the Sorbonne some years before, were every where published and received, instead of the Januarian Edict.

1563.
Pope Pius IV.

It is true that few were publickly executed, amongst whom there were five Gentlemen who were hang'd, a young Girl of sixteen years old that was beheaded, and a Woman whipt, for having been found saying their Prayers; thirty-eight were executed in Effigy, and above a hundred and sixty clapt in Goal, where they had many great Hardships to undergo. Such was the Usage the Reformed met with in the chief City of Burgundy; and all this at the Instances of the Mayor, bribed by the Guises, and under Pretence of Sedition, tho' they had lived very quietly, without ever rising in Arms.

Charles
IX.
1563.
Pope Pius
IV.



It is true likewise, that generally speaking, a much greater Humanity was found in the common sort of People of that Country, than in the People of any other; nay, than in their Governors and Magistrates themselves: for pitying the Fate of so many of their innocent Country Men, whom they knew to have been peaceable and good Neighbours, not only they forbore to do them any harm, but they assisted them, as much as they could in secret.

It would be too tedious to give here a particular Account of all the Injustices, Vexations, Wrongs and Plunders committed by Tavanés, the Parliament of Dijon, the Mayor and other Magistrates, and Officers Civil or Military at Dijon, Autun, Auxonne, Auxerre, Chaalons Sur-Saone, and other places in Burgundy. But I can't pass over the Siege of Mâcon without mentioning the horrid Cruelties used against the Reformed Inhabitants.

Mâcon.

In the Year 1560, they had a settled Church in that City, which increased to such a number, that in 1562, the Massacre of Vassy having obliged them to provide for their own Preservation, they made themselves Masters of the City on the 3d of May, without much trouble; but especially without shedding of Blood. Three Days after, having heard that the Images had been broken at Lyons, the Ministers and the Elders, notwithstanding their Remonstrances and Exhortations, could not prevail upon the Minds of the People, nor hinder them from doing the same at Mâcon; and from that time the publick Exercise of the Romish Religion was suppressed in the City. Tavanés endeavoured several times to recover that Place, but without Success; but at last, by the means of some Traitors he surprized it on the 19th of August, by a Detachment

tachment of his Troops, and made himself Master of it, after having withstood some hot Skirmishes in the Streets. Besides the plundering of the Houses, they used most barbarously all the Reformed Inhabitants who could not redeem their Lives, or who had not Money enough to satiate their Greediness; they beat them unmercifully, they slit their Noses, cut their Ears, dragged them along the Streets, kicking them, and pricking them with their Swords, then they drowned them in the Saone, stoning or shooting those who endeavoured to escape. The Strumpets of the Priests that had been banished the City since the Month of May, being returned with the Army, to revenge themselves were very careful to show the Soldiers the Houses belonging to the Reformed, which were immediately forced and plundered. As to the Catholics, they were preserved, their Doors being marked with a white Cross.

Charles IX.
1563.
Pope Pius IV.

Tavanes arrived the 21st, with his Lady; and tho' the Houses of the Reformed had been so well pillaged, that it seemed impossible to find any thing in them, nevertheless she caused them to be searched a-new, and in the most secret Recesses, whereby she got for her own Share about 180 Trunks full of Household Goods, besides a vast Quantity of Linen of all sorts, and Thread which Mâcon abounded in, and was renowned for above all the Cities of France. As to her Husband, it was confidently said, that he had got enough for his Share of the Plunder, in ready Money, to buy an Estate of ten thousand Livres per Annum. Tavanes left for Governor of Mâcon one St. Poinct, a cruel and bloody Man, born in Adultery of a Priest, as his own Mother declared it before the Magistrates, for the discharge of her own Conscience. This

Charles
IX.1563.
Pope Pius
IV.

Man for his Diversion and Pastime's sake, when he had treated the Ladies, used to ask, Whether the Farce was ready? By which he meant, whether some of the Reformed Prisoners had been brought upon the Bridge, to leap over into the River? and one or two, and sometimes more were brought; then he came with the Ladies, and having put some comical Questions to the poor Wretches, he caused them to be thrown into the *Saone* and drowned. He was used also to give false Alarms, to have a Pretence to drown or shoot to death some of them, charging them with a Design of betraying the City. These Cruelties continued till the Month of January 1563. A little time after the Edict of Pacification, St. Poinct, that profligate Man, returning to his own House near Mâcon, (where he had carried Goods to the Value of twenty thousand Crowns for his Share of the Plunder) was met by D'Achon, Nephew of the late Marshal of St. Andrew, with whom he had a Quarrel of a long standing, who shot him dead upon the Spot. (g).

Now I come nearer the Southern Provinces, where the Reformed being in a much greater number than in the Northern, they afford us also a greater number of the most tragical Scenes of Cruelties and Barbarities.

LYON-
NESE.

We have taken notice in the Year 1551, under K. Henry II. that those of Lyons who had embraced the Reformation had continued their secret Assemblies under the Care of Peter Fournelet, and Claudius Monier their Ministers; the last of whom was burnt alive in that same year, notwithstanding which the Reformed continued to meet together, having for their Ministers Mes-

(g) Beza liv. xv. Dinoth. lib. ii. p. 137, &c. Thuan. lib. xxxi. p. 126, 127.

Messieurs la Rochebouillet, Semide, and James Ruffi, succeeding one after another ; their number increased apace ; and in the Year 1561, understanding that in most parts of the Kingdom, and even at Court, the Reformed met and preached publicly, they undertook to do the same. On the 19th of October 1561, the Count of Sault was sent to Lyons, as Deputy Governor to the Marshal of St. Andrew ; he countenanced the Reformed as much as he could, and persuaded them to keep their Assemblies in the Suburbs of la Guillotiere. The Edict of January having been published at Lyons, the Count of Sault, fearing lest he should be opposed by the Catholicks, dared not to execute the Article whereby the Reformed Inhabitants of the Frontier Towns were allowed to keep their Assemblies within the said Towns ; whereupon he resolved, with the King's Leave, to make himself the strongest in the City, for to obviate the Insurrection of one of the Parties against the other. Therefore he sent Captain Mormoiron into Dauphiné, there to make a Levy of two hundred Men, and he himself levied in the City five hundred, viz. three hundred Catholicks and two hundred Reformed, and disposed of them after such a Manner, that the Gates and the more important Places of the City were trusted to the Catholicks. Such was the Condition of Lyons, the Inhabitants not mistrusting one another, till they received the News of the Vassiacan Massacre ; for then the Reformed began to provide for themselves the best they could, and to watch more narrowly over their Enemies.

Captain Moreau was sent Deputy to the Prince by the Churches of the Venaisin County, Languedoc, Dauphiné and Lyonnese, to know from his Highness what they had to do for the King's

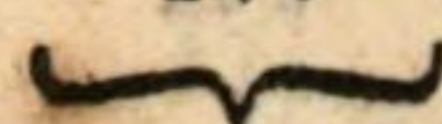
Charles

IX.

1563.

Pope Pius

IV.



Service, and the Welfare of the Kingdom. The Prince sent back immediately the said Captain with two others, to let the Reformed know, especially those of Lyons, that he desired them earnestly to send him what Forces they could spare, and to keep the City of Lyons for the King, under the Command of the said Count of Sault, provided that he should keep no other Troops, but what were of the Reformed Religion.

On the 29th of April the said Envoys arrived at Lyons, and having consulted with the Chief of the Reformed Inhabitants, they resolved to make themselves Masters of the City that very Night, which was executed with all the desired Success, and almost without shedding of Blood, seeing that only two Men were slain in the Fray.

The next Day, the 30th of April the Reformed sent a Deputation to the Count of Sault, for excusing and justifying what had been done the last Night, and desiring his Excellency to continue as before ; and that they would pay a due Obedience to all his lawful Commands. But the Count rebuked them severely, and told them that he would send Notice of every thing to the King ; and that unless they would lay down their Arms, and send away all their Foreign Soldiers, he would not be their Governor any longer ; which Condition was refused by the Deputies. The next Day, the first of May, all the Officers of Justice, with the Sheriffs of the City, and some of the chief Burgeses of the Catholick Religion, went to him upon the same Errand ; and after many Sollicitations, at last he consented to be their Governor, 'till he had received an Answer from the King upon what had been done ; and mean while it was agreed, that the Forces should remain in the Reformed's hands ;

hands ; and that both Parties should contribute equally towards the keeping of twelve hundred Men, under the Command of six Captains, all of the Reformed Religion.

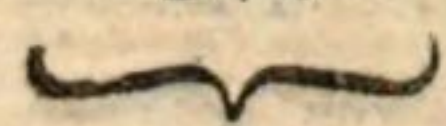
Charles
IX.
1563.
Pope Pius
IV.

On the 3d of May arrived in the City, Captains Blacons and Condorcet, with some Gentlemen and their Companies ; and in the Evening came FRANCIS LORD OF BEAUMONT BARON DES ADRETS, who understanding from the above said Captains Moreau, Aisse and Grille, what the Prince had commanded to be done for the King's Service and the Preservation of the Provinces of Dauphiné, Venaissin, Provence and Languedoc, they set out the next day to execute their respective Commissions, having sent notice to the Prince of the State and Condition the City of Lyons was in.

Baron des Adrets was a Man so extraordinary, that he deserves to be taken notice of for the Singularity of his Character. He was of the Illustrious and Ancient House of Beaumont in Dauphiné, he had learned the Military Art in Piedmont, the best School in the world for that purpose, at that time ; he was but fifteen Years old when he began, being of the two hundred Gentlemen of Dauphiné, that were in *Odet de Foix Lord of Lautrec's* Army in the Year 1527, so he was born in the Year 1512, and made himself famous very early. At the time we are speaking of, he was Colonel of the Legionaries of Lyonnese, Dauphiné, Provence and Languedoc. As to his Features, Thuanus who saw him at Grenoble in 1572, gives us this Description of him ; *Erat jam totus canus, sed crudâ adhuc ac viride senectute, oculis truculentis, naso aquilino, facie macilentâ, sed ruboribus interfusâ, ut lutum sanguine maceratum, quod in P. Corn. Sullâ observatum est, ori inspersum diceret ; de cætero corporis habitu*

Of BA-
RON DES
ADRETS.

Charles
IX.
1563.
Pope Pius
IV.



militari. That is, he was all gray, but still of a strong Complexion, of a fierce Look, a hooked Nose, a thin Face, but besprinkled with red Spots, much like to Publius Corn. Sylla, and to the rest he had a Warrior's Air (*b*). As to his Parts, he was vigilant as much as could be, bold and successful in his Undertakings, and truly he had several good Qualities required to make a great Captain; but he was exceedingly ambitious and cruel, as his Actions evince (*j*). Brantome says, that he was compared to Montluc, both very brave and valiant, both very humourfome and capricious, both very cruel, both Companions in Piedmont, and both great Captains (*i*). Nothing but a revengeful Spirit against the Guises, obliged him to side with the Reformed, and nothing but a revengeful Spirit against the Reformed obliged him to forsake them before the first Civil War was over, and side with the Catholicks, to whom he adhered thenceforward to his last Breath. As long as he sided with the Reformed, the Terror of his Name spread it self not only in all the Southern Provinces of France, but it reached Rome it self, where the Consistory were once in a terrible Fright, lest he should come by Sea and pay them one of his Visits, as it was rumoured. But as soon as he sided with the Catholicks against the Reformed, being always unsuccessful, his Reputation sunk apace, and he was scorned by both Parties. D'Aubigné gives us an Account of a Conference he had with him in 1574, at Lyons, when K. Henry III. came from Poland. He put these three Queries to him, 1^{mo}, *Why he had used so many and great Cruelties,*

(*b*) Thuan. in vitâ suâ lib. 1. (*j*) Beza liv. xi. (*i*) Brantome Eloge de Montluc, quoted by Agricola, Add. aux Mem. de Castelnau, liv. iv. ch. 2.

Cruelties, unbecoming so great Courage? 2^{do}, Why he had forsaken a Party wherein he had so great Credit? 3^{do}, Why he had been so unsuccessful in all his Undertakings against the Reformed?

Charles
IX.
1563.
Pope Pius
IV.

He answered to the first Query, that no Man must be deemed cruel when he does use Reprisals; that the Aggressor is truly cruel, but in the second is an Act of Justice. Upon which he gave him an horrible Account of more than four thousand Persons who had been slain and murdered in cool Blood, and of several Tortures of a new Invention, and unheard of before; especially the Leapings of Mâcon, the Governor whereof was at great Expences in feasting, and took his Diversion in seeing the unfortunate Reformed that fell into his hands, leaping from a Bridge into the River; and inured Boys and Girls that were present at that Spectacle, to see the Huguenots murdered, without any Sense at all of Mercy or Pity. He added further, that he had used Reprisals, tho' not in so great a number, to revenge the Murder of his faithful Companions, and for obliging his Enemies to be more civil and kind, for the future, to Prisoners of War; and told him, that some time ago, three hundred Cavaliers had been sent back to the Enemies Camp, each having had one of his Hands and one of his Feet chopped off, to oblige the Enemy to change his Method. As to the 2d Query, he owned that Spite and Desire of Revenge had occasioned his Desertion, and complained bitterly of the Admiral's proceeding towards him, as unjust. He answered to the 3d Query with a Sigh, and said, Child, nothing is too hot for a Captain who is no more concerned in the Victory than his Soldiers; I had Soldiers under my Command while I sided with the Reformed, but since that time I had but

Charles IX. 1563. Pope Pius IV. Merchants, who mind only to get Money; the former stood in awe without Fright, were paid with Vengeance, Passion and Honour: I had not Bridles enough for the first, and the last have worn all my Spurs (*k*). He died the 2d of February, in the Year 1586 at la Frette one of his Houses. He left three Sons, who were all of a very cruel Temper. Notwithstanding his great Services to the Reformed while he sided with them, they have looked upon him as another *Goliath that defied the Army of Israel*.

Des Adrets being at Valence on the 28th of April, the Day after the Sedition happened in that City, wherein la Motte Gondrin Governor of Dauphiné was slain, as we shall say hereafter, he was unanimously chosen Administrator of that Province by the Nobility and Gentry, till the Prince should order it otherwise. And having heard what was come to pass at Lyons, he came thither, and took upon him the Direction of Affairs, pretending that it was his Right, and being not opposed by the Inhabitants, considering that he was a Man of Expedition, and thinking that after he had given them his Advice, he would return into Dauphiné. But it happened quite otherwise; for he took upon himself all the Authority, commanding, ordering and doing every thing just after his own Will and Pleasure. Whereupon the Count of Sault, after having waited for some time, obtained at last the King's Leave to retire into his own House, which he did accordingly on the last Day of June 1562. About the same time arrived at Lyons Poncenat and Changy, sent by the Prince from Orleans, the first to command the Horse, and Changy the Foot, as Quarter-master General; but some dis-

(*k*) D'Aubigné Tom. I. liv. iii. ch. 9.

dispute arising, Changy was satisfy'd to accept of the Government of Valence in Dauphiné, Blacons remained Quarter-master, and the City of Lyons was chosen to be their Place of Arms. Des Adrets went afterwards into Dauphiné to attack the Lieutenants of Sommerive, Suze, Carces, Maugiron and others, who committed great Disorders in that Province, and was very successful in his Expedition. Then coming back to Lyons in the beginning of July, he resolved to attack two places in the Country of Foretz, viz. Monton and Montbrison, in which Expedition he employed almost all his Forces, and succeeded to his Wishes in this Undertaking; but he blasted the Glory of his Victory by his exceeding Cruelty; for on the 16th of July being in cool Blood, and only for Diversion's sake, after his Dinner, he caused several of the Prisoners of War, among whom there were some Gentlemen of Note, to leap over from the Top of the great Tower of Montbrison, notwithstanding the pressing Intreaties of Blacons, Poncenat, and others his Captains, who endeavoured to deter him from such a Barbarity. But he told them that it was the only way to oblige their Enemies to deal with them with more Humanity, than they had done at Orange. From thence he returned to Lyons, where he found a great Alteration, for the Prince had sent thither the Lord of Soubize to be Governor of Lyons, and of the Lyonnese, who being arrived on the 19th of July, he opened his Commission to Des Adrets, when he arrived a few Hours after; and in the mean time he remonstrated unto him with all Meekness, what a Blast that cruel Execution would cast upon his own Reputation, and the Prejudice it would be to their common Cause. Then he declared openly to all the Officers and Sol-

Charles
IX.
1563.
Pope Pius
IV.

Charles IX.
1563.
Pope Pius IV.

Soldiers there present, that whosoever should follow that Example, ought to depart from Lyons immediately, or else they would be severely punished.

At first Des Adrets could not help to vent out his Anger, but being acquainted with the Prince's Intention, as well by Letters from his Highness as by Soubize, he thought proper to dissemble his Resentment, for the present, and resolved to go into Dauphiné, where Montbrun stood much in need of him; he set out with four French Ensigns, and a Company of a hundred Switzers for his Guard.

The greatest Perplexity of Monsieur de Soubize during his Government was, to know where to find Provisions for supplying Lyons, and how to have them carried into the City; but he happily overcame all these Difficulties, tho' not without much trouble. He was besieged twice, the first time in August 1562, by Tavanés; but tho' he had a great Army, composed of Italian and French Troops, and many Pieces of Artillery, nevertheless he approached not the City nearer than six Miles, rather, as the Event proved it, for hurting the Vintagers, than for assaulting the City. He staid at the same Place for a Month together, during which time there were several Skirmishes. Then the Duke of Nemours was sent by the King to command his Armies in those parts; Tavanés being displeased at it, retired into his Government of Burgundy. Nemours did not attack the City immediately, but he went with all his Forces into Dauphiné, there to try whether he could not make a Conquest of that Province, seize upon the Magazines of Corn which Soubize had gathered to transport them to Lyons, and come afterwards with a greater Force to lay Siege to that City. But his

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Designs vanished away ; for Des Adrets, who had gone into Dauphiné for raising some Recruits, had been so diligent, that in a little time he got an Army of about five thousand Foot, and four thousand Horse, which being reinforced with two thousand Switzers, three thousand Foot of the French Troops, and three hundred Horse sent from Lyons by Soubize, he pitch'd his Camp between Lyons and Vienne in Dauphiné, where he staid for three Weeks together, during which Time there were several Skirmishes, wherein Nemours was always worsted.

Charles
IX.
1563.
Pope Pius
IV.

But it happened at this time, that a Messenger, whom Soubize had sent to Orleans with Letters from him and the Cardinal of Chatillon, then in Languedoc, directed to the Admiral, instead of coming back to Lyons with the Admiral's Answer, went directly to the Marshal of Brissac, and delivered his Packet to him, wherein there was found a Letter from the Admiral concerning Des Adrets ; the Substance whereof was, That his Gusts ought to be borne, with as much Patience as possible ; and that he ought not to be irritated, lest from being an Insolent, he should turn a Mad Man ; Brissac had no sooner read those Letters, but he dispatched a Gentleman of Dauphiné, St. Servin by Name, first to Nemours, and opened him a Way for tampering with Des Adrets ; and from thence to Des Adrets himself, to whom he wrote about that matter.

Des Adrets having received these Letters, it is easy to conceive what Effects they had in a Man of such a Temper ; and had it not been for the great Vigilance of Soubize, very likely he would have revenged himself in a terrible manner, but he was prevented from doing any great mischief ; for the next day that St. Servin

Charles
IX.
1563.
Pope Pius
IV.

Servin was come to deliver his Letters to him, Soubize came into his Camp, under pretence of reviewing it, and of talking with him about some Enterprize; he was not long with Des Adrets, before he took Notice of a great Alteration in him; therefore he charged some Gentlemen to watch over him, and to send him Notice of every thing they could discover, which Commis- sion they discharged faithfully, as we shall see in speaking of Dauphiné.

Des Adrets having had some private Confe- rences with the Duke of Nemours, broke up his Camp, and disbanded his Army; then the said Duke came to encamp at St. Genis, a League distant from Lyons, and by frequent Skirmishes he did hinder all manner of Provisions to come into the City, and staid till the time appoint- ed for putting him in Possession of Romans and Valence was at an end; he went to Ville-franche, and put Garrisons every where in the Country of Dombes, in so much that no body could go out of Lyons by St. Sebastian's Gate, without great danger of losing his Life, or at least, his Liberty. Lyons was by this time reduced to great Straits, when by the too great Confi- dence of Nemours, it was relieved. That Ge- neral depending entirely upon the strict Corre- spondence he kept with Des Adrets, was in hopes of succeeding happily in every thing; and made his Account, that being soon Master of Dauphiné, it would be an easy Matter for him to take pos- session of Lyons. Therefore the time appoint- ed being come, he went directly to Vienna with his Army, which being not strong enough he could not divide it in two. Soubize being ac- quainted by his Spies of Nemours's March, sent immediately, and at the very nick of time, three thousand Foot, and about four hundred Horse,

to

to bring over from the Principality of Dombes into the City, the Corn he had bought in that Country. On the other hand, he dispatched Mouvans and Clery into Dauphiné, to arrest Des Adrets, which was executed, as we shall say hereafter. Those who had been sent into Dombes, to clear the Country of the Garrisons of Nemours, and to bring over the Corn, performed every thing according to their Wishes, without any great Opposition, the Castle of Trevoux excepted, wherein forty Men shut themselves up, in order to defend it, but it was forced by Captain Moreau; the assailed went into a Tower, and with a Ladder they went up to the upper Floor, fully resolved to die rather than surrender on any Terms, whereby the Assailers were obliged to blow up the Tower; that being done, they brought to Lyons five thousand Loads of Corn. Mean while Nemours having been very unsuccessful in his Enterprize upon Dauphiné, and understanding that Des Adrets had been arrested, and likewise having notice of the Troops that were marched from Lyons into Dombes, sent Orders to St. Chaumont for escalading the City, but he missed his Ends. The Duke himself being returned to St. Genis, undertook the same thing, but with no better Success. In a word, that Siege lasted from the beginning of November to the latter end of March, or the beginning of April, when the Peace having been proclaimed, the Duke of Nemours raised the Siege, and disbanded part of his Army (1).

Charles IX.
1563.
Pope Pius IV.

The Januarian Edict having been published in the Parliament of Grenoble, the Reformed did meet together in the Suburbs, in a Yard belonging to a Merchant. They increased vastly in a few Weeks time, notwithstanding the great

(1) Beze liv. xi. Dinoth. lib. 2. Thuan. lib. 31.

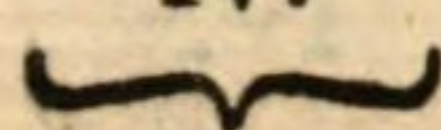
Charles

IX.

1563.

Pope Pius

IV.



forts of their Adversaries, who ceased not to molest them ; at last they complained of it to the President des Portes, and to Bucher the King's Attorney ; but instead of any Relief, they were ordered not to meet together above the number of ten Persons ; and that under the specious Pretence of not provoking their Enemies against them. On another side, La Mothe Gondrin, Deputy Governor of Dauphiné, did his utmost Endeavours for molesting the Reformed ; in so far, that being gone to Romans, caused and ordered a House to be pulled down, only because the Reformed had had some Meetings in it ; whereupon the Reformed of that Place were so much incensed, that had he not fled by a back Door full Gallop to VALENCE, he would have been made a Victim to atone for his manifold Injustices and Cruelties. Nevertheless he obtained from the Parliament of Grenoble a Warrant against some of the Ringleaders Reformed of ROMANS; but by the Count of Crussol's Interposition, they were put to the Decision of the King's Commissaries. Suze and Vinay, after a Conference with Gondrin, went directly to the Duke of Guise, who wrote to Gondrin, and exhorted him to take his Revenge of the Reformed of Romans, and to hang their Minister, without any Form of Law ; telling him further, *You are a Soldier, and you cannot miss to take the said Minister, if you do watch him with ten or twelve of your Attendants.* The Reformed having been acquainted with the Contents of those Letters, they were in a great Perplexity how to find Means of providing for themselves ; and having received Notice of the Association made at Orleans, which was published in all the Reformed Churches, they resolved

solved to spend their Goods and their Lives for the Defence of so just a Cause.

Charles IX.

1563.

Pope Pius IV.

Now it was an ancient usage at Valence to elect new Consuls and Counsellors for that City, on Mark's Day, the 25th of April; Gondrin willing to make himself Master of the Elections, had ordered the Gates to be shut up, and surrounded the Place of Election with his Attendants, whom he had armed for that purpose, which being perceived by eighteen or twenty Reformed, they met together in a House fully resolved to defend themselves till death, if they were assaulted; which being reported to Gondrin, he sent a Captain with his Men to drive them out of it, and he himself came to the place of the Assembly with his Arms, and shot to death one of his Secretaries whom he met there. Mean while those that were there assembled found means to escape by a Back-door, and came to one of the City Gates, which they opened for those of their Brethren who had a mind to fly; for there was a Rumour in the City, that the Reformed were all to be massacred. But Gondrin, to prevent their Flight, had sent by another Gate part of his Horse to cut them to pieces; and having not met them in their way, they fell upon some Peasants who came to the Market with their Provisions, and murdered some of them, who were carried upon Ladders into the City; at which sight all the Inhabitants, Catholic and Reformed, were moved, and cried for Justice: the Catholics being appeased by the Vicar of the Bishop, and the Reformed by their Minister, every one went into his own House. The next Day, the 26th of April, the Rumour of what had happened having reached the neighbouring Towns and Villages, a great number of Men arrived at Valence from every Quarter, all

re-

Charles
IX
1563
Pope Pius
IV.

resolved to assist their Brethren ; but the Reformed fearing lest the Remedy should prove worse than the Evil, thanked them for their trouble ; and furthermore, tho' it was a Sabbath-day, they resolved to have no Sermon upon that Day. Nevertheless Gondrin thinking to have met with a proper Opportunity of expelling the Reformed out of the City, and by that means of remaining himself Master of it, because they used to assemble in the Suburbs, according to the Edict, insisted earnestly that they should meet after their usual manner, saying, that by that means every one would be convinc'd, that they had a mind to live according to the Edict. But the Evil which he prepared for others, fell on his own Head ; for the Gate-Keeper having been surprized just at the time he was shutting the Gates, the Inhabitants, as well as Foreigners, waiting not till the Sermon was over, came on a sudden on the City, and seiz'd the Gates, and notwithstanding all the Endeavours of the Wifest, the Tumult increased. On Monday the 27th, several Gentlemen of the Reformed Religion, Des Adrets, Mirabel, Montbrun, and Montoux, arrived at Valence, while the Tumult lasted still, and that Gondrin was besieged in his own House, the People roaring and crying, some complaining of his manifold Outrages and Concussions, while others asked that the Murderers, who had massacred the poor Peasants the day before, should be brought to condign Punishment. That Commotion lasted (notwithstanding the Endeavours of the Magistrates and the Minister to appease it) till two o'clock in the Afternoon, when the House having been set on fire, Gondrin went to the next House, wherein he was murdered, with seven of his Servants ; and even the Fury of the Populace could not be appeased, till they had

had seen his Corps hanging at the Window-posts, so much was he hated by all the Inhabitants, Catholicks as well as Reformed. When that Sedition was over, the Wisest, considering the Consequence of it, sent to Grenoble, beseeching the Parliament to send some Commissaries to take Information of the Fact, and accordingly a Counsellor was sent for that purpose. Now, whereas that Tumult seems to have been the first Act of the Civil War in Dauphiné, it will not be amiss to consider how the Affairs stood in that Province.

Charles
IX.
1563.
Pope Pius
IV.

The Parliament shewed themselves very partial, since the 6th of April, when they derogated from the Edict, forbidding all the King's Officers to assist in the Reformed Assemblies, and the 18th of the same Month they went further, above their Power; for they forbid, upon pain of Death, to absent from the City without a special Licence from the Vice-Bailiff: And on the 27th they commanded all Officers of the Army and other Gentlemen, to repair immediately to Paris for the King's Service; and to be there before the 20th of May, with their warlike Equipage, under the pain of High-Treason.

Now the Guises had so well contrived their Plot, by the means of Maugiron, Sommerive, Fabricius Serbellonne, and the Governor of Grenoble, that very likely they would have succeeded to their Wishes in the Attempt they made not only to destroy the Reformed in the Lyonnese, Dauphiné and Provence, but also to make themselves Masters of those Provinces, and to restore the ancient Kingdom of Arles. But Gondrin's Death put a stop to those vast Projects, tho' the manner of his Death cannot be excused.

Charles
IX.
1563.
Pope Pius
IV.

Such being the Posture of Affairs, the Gentlemen who were come to Valence, elected Baron Des Adrets for their Chief, the very same Day of Gondrin's Death, and adhered to the Association made at Orleans, on the 11th of April. Furthermore it was enacted in the same Assembly, that the Goods belonging to the Church, should be entirely preserved without any Damage till further Orders; and for that end that the Churches should be shut up to avoid all manner of Disorders; which was executed accordingly, till they received News of the breaking of Images in other Provinces of the Kingdom; for then it was not possible to keep the People from doing the same in Dauphiné.

Des Adrets, an active Man, considering of what Importance the Cities of Lyons and Grenoble were to his Party, sent word to the Reformed of the last place to provide for their own Safety the best they could; and that he would assist them in proper time: And as he knew those of the Parliament who were the bitterest Enemies to the Reformed, he wrote on the 1st of May to the said Parliament, to notify to them his Election, and commanding them, as a Man who knew how to make himself be obey'd, to expel the Seditious out of the City, and amongst others the second President, the Attorney General, the fourth Consul and some others, threatening them that they would be hang'd if they did not leave the City immediately.

That Order having been executed, the Reformed seiz'd upon the City-Gates, and guarded them, without molesting any body, either in their Persons or their Goods; then fearing lest they should be assaulted, they, with the Consent of the Deputies of the Parliament, and Cham-

Chamber of Accounts, and other Magistrates, seiz'd upon the Jacobines Convent, to whom they granted leave to carry out every thing that belonged to them. Then they proceeded to the Election of four Consuls, three of whom were Reformed; they named one *Aynemont Cot* to be Captain of the City, and gave him leave to levy two hundred Men, which should be entertained at the charge of the City.

Charles
IX.
1563.
Pope Pius
IV.

Such being the State of Grenoble, Maugiron was making at Chambery all the necessary Preparations for attacking it; which being understood by the Inhabitants, they dispatch'd a Messenger to Des Adrets, who was then at Lyons, beseeching him to come immediately to their Relief. Upon which he sent a Company of Foot commanded by Captain Commung, then he came himself with fifty Horse, and followed by several other Companies of Foot commanded by Captain Furmeyer. These Troops being arrived, it was not possible to preserve the remaining Images in the Churches, part of which was burnt in the publick Places. Des Adrets caused a Proclamation to be read, whereby he forbad to acknowledge Maugiron as Lieutenant General, or to afford him any Assistance, and to prosecute and pursue him till taken dead or alive, as a Seditious, and an Infringer of the King's Edicts. Then he took a View of the City, and ordered what he thought necessary for its Defence, causing some Houses near the City-Walls, to be pulled down; he made likewise several Regulations for the Police, which were very ill kept; which done, he set out for Lyons on the 27th of May, and came back to Grenoble on the 2d of June. On the 5th, the Great Charter-House, three Leagues distant from Grenoble, was taken by the Reformed

Charles IX
1563.
Pope Pius IV.

Troops, and burnt to the Ground. Des Adrets having received the News of the plundering and sacking of the City of Orange, by the Count of Suze; and the cruel and barbarous Usage the poor Inhabitants had met with, resolved to go into the Low Dauphiné; therefore he set out on the 7th of June, and left Monsieur de Brion at Grenoble to command in his stead, with four Companies.

Tho' the Relation of the Siege of Orange belongs properly to the History of Provence, yet we shall insert it here, because of its near Affinity with the Affairs of Dauphiné, as well as with those of Provence.

Of O-
RANGE.
*A short
Account
of the
Princes
of Orange.*

That City, which then enjoyed the Title of a Sovereign Principality, is situated in the County of Provence, whereof it makes a part. It appears by very authentick Monuments, that it was formerly subject to the Gallico-German Empire. But when that Empire began to decline, the said County became the Prey of several petty Princes.

Of the
the Lords
of Baulx.

The Principality of Orange devolved at last to the Lords of Baulx in Provence, either by Inheritance or some other Title, with the like Prerogatives and Immunities as the Princes of the Empire enjoy now a-days, whereof a Deed was drawn by Bertrand de Baulx in December 1242. The Knights of Jerusalem had a Share in that Principality, granted to them very likely by some of the Princes, in Consideration of their Valour, and of the perpetual War they did engage themselves to wage against the Saracens, *as it was usual in those Days*; and that is proved by several Medals, whereon the Arms of the Prince of Orange are to be seen on oneside, and those of the Knights of Jerusalem on the other.

Such

Such was the Condition of the City, till the Year 1256, when Charles of Anjou, Brother to Lewis IX. King of France, having married Beatrix, Daughter to Raymond Berenger, the last of the Count of Barcelonne's House, Count of Provence altered it, and obliged William de Baulx, Prince of Orange, to pay him Homage as his Vassal, which Ceremony was performed by Odo De Fontenay great Seneschal of Provence.

Charles
IX.
1563.
Pope Pius
IV.

Charles II. succeeding to his Father, and suspecting the Power of so many petty Princes, bought for an equivalent from the Knights of Jerusalem that Share they had in the Principality of Orange, in October 1307, and gave it to Bertrand de Baulx, upon Condition that for the future, he and his Heirs or Successors should pay Faith and Homage for the whole Principality to the Counts of Provence, as Vassals of the said Counts; and accordingly a Deed was drawn of the whole Matter, with all the requisite Forms, in March 1308. Accordingly the very next Year Bertrand de Baulx was obliged to pay Faith and Homage to Robert, Son and Successor to Charles II. And two Years after, the same Bertrand transacting with the Syndick of Orange about the Privileges and Immunities, the Rights of the Roman Empire belonging to the Counts of Provence, were expressly reserved.

William succeeded to Bertrand, who paid his Faith and Homage to Robert upon the same Terms. Raymond succeeded to William, and Raymond II. to Raymond I. his Father, and both did the same Homage to Johanna Queen of Naples and Sicily; and even this last was sued by Foulques d'Agoult, great Seneschal of Provence, for some Violences by him committed

Charles IX. 1563. Pope Pius IV. at Courtaison, a little Town in the Principality of Orange, and had his Estate sequestrated; nor could he re-enter into full Possession of it, till he had ask'd and obtain'd Pardon of Queen Johanna.

Whereas that Queen had no Children, she adopted Lewis I. of Anjou, Son of John King of France; after him Lewis II. his Son, then Lewis III. Duke of Calabria, to whom all the Princes of Orange paid Homage.

*Of the
House of
Châlons.*

Raymond de Baulx dying without Male Issue, Mary his Daughter transferr'd the Principality into the House of Châlons, having married John of Châlons; this happened in the Year 1410, and Lewis of Châlons their Son, was obliged to pay Homage to René of Sicily, and lent to him fifteen thousand Livres in the Year 1436, when the said King of Sicily was detained Prisoner at Dijon by Philip Duke of Burgundy. On the other hand, René gave to Lewis his Right of Sovereignty over the Principality of Orange as a Security for his Money; and when he was released, tho' he was willing to return the said Sum, nevertheless by the Shufflings of Châlons that Affair was not finished.

William of Châlons succeeded to Lewis, who abusing his Authority at Orange, at last by the Interference of the neighbouring Nobility, it was enacted, that the Inhabitants had a Right to appeal from the Prince; this happened in January 1471, when Lewis XI. was King of France, who succeeded to René and Charles of Anjou, Counts of Provence, and he transacted with William of Châlons upon these Terms, that for the future he should pay Homage to the King and the Dauphin of Viennois, in consideration of forty-five thousand Crowns, which Sum he should receive immediately; and that his Subjects

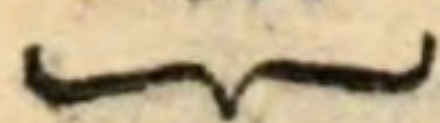
jects of Orange should have the Right of appealing to the Parliament of Grenoble; as for the rest, he might stile himself like other Sovereign Princes; that is, by the Grace of God Prince of Orange, coin Money, forgive the Criminals, and do all such like Acts of Sovereignty. Upon these Terms he was admitted to do Homage to the Crown of France, in May 1475, and since that time the Parliament of Grenoble took Cognizance of the Appeals of the Principality, till the Year 1590, when K. Lewis XII. who was very fond of John of Châlons, Son to William, and gratefully remembering his good Offices, and extraordinary Feats of Arms at the Battle of St. Aubin in Brittany, where they were both taken Prisoners, he remitted his Sovereign Right to him; this was not done without contradiction, for the King's Attorney made his Oppositions, and appealed from the King to the Dauphin, and the Governor of Dauphiné, and enter'd his Protest in the public Registers, the — of September.

But for all that, John of Châlons, went on and improving the King's Good-will towards him, he usurped (says my Author, the Sovereign Authority in that Principality, and established in it a Court of Parliament, to decide all Matters without Appeal. This lasted till Lewis the XII's Death; for Francis I. who succeeded him, repealed the Grant of his Predecessor, and Philibert Successor of John was obliged to pay Homage to the said King, and the Parliament of Grenoble took again Cognizance of the Appeals. This Philibert died without Issue, and instituted for his Heir René of Nassau, his Nephew, by his Sister Claudia's side. This Prince having left France to enter into the Service of the House of Austria, found means by that Protection

Charles
IX.
1563.
Pope Pius
IV.

How that
Principa-
lity came
to the
House of
Nassau.

Charles
IX
1563
Pope Pius
IV.



tection to be restored to the full Rights of Sovereignty in Orange, granted to John by King Lewis XII. and after the Battle of Pavia, it was stipulated by the Treaty of Madrid, that, without any Regard to the Pretensions of the Kings of France upon the Principality of Orange, the said Principality should be restored to the Princes of that Name, to be by them enjoy'd in full Sovereignty ; and tho' during the Wars between the Emperor Charles V. and King Henry II. the King's Officers did always seize upon that Principality, and the Parliament of Grenoble took cognizance of the Appeals, nevertheless, by the Treaty of Peace made in 1559, it was stipulated that the Prince of Orange should enjoy the full Sovereignty thereof according to the Articles of Madrid ; (*the same thing has been observed under the Reigns of the House of Bourbon, especially under Lewis XIV. whenever he has made War against the Allies of the most illustrious House of Nassau, and in the subsequent Treaties,*) and William Son to William, Cousin-german to René, established a Governor in the City, and restored the Parliament, who judged without Appeal^(u): (*And that City has subsisted in the same Condition as to its Government, without any other Alteration, but what was occasioned by the Wars, till the last Treaty of Utrecht, when the King of Prussia made a Cession of his Rights to the King of France upon certain Terms.*) I hope this Digression, tho' it has no direct Relation to this History, will not be displeasing to my Reader, who keeps fresh in his Memory the Remembrance of the Great King William, the glorious Deliverer of those Nations, and who has any Regard for his most Serene Highness the present Prince of Orange.

How-

(u) Thuan. lib. 31. p. 132, 133, 134.

However, that City, famous for two Councils held in it, is an Episcopal See, filled up at the time we are speaking of by Philip de la Chambre, of the illustrious House of the Marquisses de la Chambre, a great Enemy to the Reformed: They had begun to hold private Assemblies in the latter end of Henry II's. Reign, and had a Minister in the Year 1561. They lived peaceably enough under the Governments of Caussans and de la Tour sent by Prince William of Nassau, but being frightned with the News of the Vassiacan Massacre, and understanding what Fabrice Serbellonne, who commanded for the Pope in Avignon, plotted against them, they thought proper to make themselves masters of the City.

Charles
IX.
1563.
Pope Pius
IV.

Serbellonne had been joined in the latter end of May by Sommerive Lieutenant to his Father, the Count of Tendes Governor of Provence, the Count of Carces, Flassans, Ventebran, Sental, Laverdiere, Mondragon, Venterol and other Captains, (most of whom had been condemned of late as seditious by the Commissaries sent by the King at Aix) with the Troops under their Command.

All these Forces were assembled at Cavaillon, waiting for an Opportunity of entering the City by the means of a Traitor, who had promised to introduce them. The Reformed having been reinforced with 600 Men, it happen'd that Monsieur Perrin de Parpaille, President of Orange, who had been at Lyons for making Provision of Arms, was betray'd by his Waterman, as he came down the River, and deliver'd with his Boat into the hands of his Enemies, who sent him Prisoner to St. Andiol, five Leagues from Orange. This being understood in that City, they sent almost all their Forces to that Place to recover the President. As soon as they were

Charles IX. 1563. Pope Pius IV. were gone, the Catholicks sent notice of it to Serbellonne, who marched with all his Forces, and arrived on the 5th of June, with two Cannons and some Field-Pieces. He summoned the

City to surrender; but the Terms proposed being too hard, the Inhabitants, at least the Reformed, chose to withstand to their last Breath. Thereupon Serbellonne began to batter the Walls so furiously, that he made that very same Day a large Breach; when it was dark, the Reformed seeing that they were too small in Number to resist any longer; and that the Catholicks disposed themselves to attack them, part of them left the City in the Night, and retreated to Serignan with their Wives and Children, and those who staid in the City prepared themselves for the Defence of their Walls, and for opposing the Enemy who endeavoured to force the Gates, or to enter by the Breach; but they were betrayed by the Catholicks, who opened an Iron Grate whereby the Enemy entered the next Morning being the 6th of June, as well as by the Houses adjoining the Walls, and even by the City Gates, which were burnt to the ground. Then, as it was impossible to resist, great part of the Reformed retired into the Castle, the rest fled, thinking to hide themselves. The Enemy being entered, they fell upon that Multitude unarmed, and were so barbarously inhuman, that they spared neither Age, Sex or Condition, they murdered old Men of fourscore years, and sucking Babes, even Paralyticks, and all the Sick whom they found in the Hospital, the Women big with Child they hung at their Windows, and shot them to death, or ripped their Bellies; and lest any thing should be wanting to their Cruelties, they invented new Kinds of Torture. Some they murdered by pricking them with

with their Swords, and slicing them piece by piece with their Hangers; others they threw from the Windows, and received them upon the Points of their Halberds; others they hung with a Hook thro' their Chin in the Chimney, and lighting a Fire, they smother'd them with the Smoak. Their Watch-word whereby they incited one another, was no less barbarous than their Deeds, viz. I DO CURSE GOD THREE TIMES, which execrable Words they uttered running along the Streets with frightful howlings. Nay, their Rage was such, and they were so far blinded by their Fury, that they did not know those of the Citizens who sided with them, and had introduced them in the City, but they murdered them all to one without distinction of Sex. Those who had retired into the Castle having surrendered themselves upon Promise of Preservation of their Lives, were cruelly murdered, part being stabbed while the others were cast head-long from the Rock whereupon the Castle was built. The Goods which could not be exported, were squander'd away, they staved the Casks of Wine, they threw away the Corn and other Grains; and in the Evening, SUZE caused the Castle, the Parliament-House and the Bishop's Palace to be set on fire, whereby three hundred adjacent Houses were burnt to the Ground, and several Persons that were concealed in them; and if it had not been for a great Rain that fell in the Night, the whole City would have been intirely reduced to Ashes. The next day the 7th of June, the Walls were beaten down, and part of them clean razed to the Ground. Those that had fled to Serignan, went to Montelimar; and as to the President Parpaille, he was beheaded at Avignon on the 8th of August following by the Vice-Legate's Orders.

Charles
IX.
1563.
Pope Pius
IV.

Charles IX.
1563.
Pope Pius IV.

Captain La Coste, Messieurs De La Caritat, and De La Rays were brought Prisoners to Tarrafcon.

That Desolation of Orange lasted till the 21st of March 1563, when the Count of Cursol, afterwards Duke of Uzez, appointed Governor of Dauphiné, being come with main Force into the City, restored the Reformed, and appointed Monsieur de St. Auban to be Governor of the Place, and on the 26th of September in the same Year, the publick Exercise of both Religions was settled again, according to the Articles of the King's Edict of Peace.

Then Serbellonne divided his Army in three Bodies, and retired himself with one to Avignon, loaded with the Spoils of Orange.

Now Des Adrets, who was set out from Grenoble on the seventh of June, fully resolved to revenge so many Innocents from their cruel Enemies, and to keep the lower Dauphiné from the Incurfions of Suze, and the higher from Maugiron's; being arrived at Montelimar, where he formed a body of Troops with the remnants of Orange, and came directly to Pierre-late, which he forced in an instant, and put to the sword all those whom he met in Arms: three hundred Soldiers whom Suze had left in the Place for its defence, retired into the Castle, which being situated on a steep Rock, was thought impregnable; but Des Adrets with his usual Impetuosity, made himself suddenly master of the Gate thereof, whereupon those who were within, being much frightened, desired to come to a Parley; but as they were part of the same Troops that had committed so many and great Barbarities at Orange, those of that City who attended Des Adrets, fell with such Fury upon them, that not one of the three hundred escaped, but all to one were killed either with the Sword, or being cast headlong from

the top of the Castle down to the foot of the Rock. From thence Des Adrets went to *Bourg* and *St. Esprit-Bridge*, who surrendered themselves, then he came to *Boulene* which he forced; he was resolved to besiege *Avignon*, but the news he received from *Grenoble*, obliged him to come back to relieve that City.

Charles
IX.
1563.
Pope Pius
IV.

On the 14th of June Maugiron had taken possession of it, while Des Adrets was absent, by the connivance of some Magistrates and Members of Parliament; he had used the Reformed very cruelly, murdering and drowning several of them. Des Adrets understanding that, took his way thro' *Valence*, and with an incredible Celerity arrived at *Romans* with all his Forces just at the nick of time, when Maugiron was approaching to seize the Town, which he dared not to execute. The next Morning Des Adrets marched to *St. Marcellin*, which he stormed at his Arrival, and cut to pieces the Garrison of three hundred Men strong; he desired earnestly to meet Maugiron in the field, in order to fight him, but that General, instead of waiting for him, fled directly into Savoy, and from thence into Burgundy, without so much as taking his leave of his Friends of Grenoble.

The News of this good Success of Des Adrets, and of Maugiron's Flight, being arrived at Grenoble on the 25th of the same Month, all those who were conscious of their Misdemeanours during his Absence, waited not for his coming, but left the City with all speed, cursing Maugiron and his Cowardice; the Prisoners of the Reformed Religion were immediately released, and the Reformed who remained in the City, being assembled, they resolved to go out and meet Des Adrets, to beseech him to forgive the Populace and their Fellow-Citizens; which being granted,
he

Charls⁹
 IX.
 1563.
 Pope Pius
 IV.

He entered into the City on the 26th without any
 Resistance, being attended by seven hundred
 Horse; he gave such Orders to his Army of six
 thousand Foot strong, that they did no hurt to
 the Inhabitants; he restored the City in the same
 Condition it was in when he had left it before,
 and marched out with his Army on the last day
 of June, and went into the Country of Foretz.

Mornas. On the eighth of July Montbrun besieged
 Mornas belonging to the Pope and stormed it;
 the Soldiers of Orange who were in Montbrun's
 Army, spared no body, but revenged their Fel-
 low-Citizens, who had been so barbarously mur-
 dered, upon all the Inhabitants of Mornas with-
 out exception, notwithstanding Montbrun's Re-
 monstrances and Intreaties, they threw the Corpse
 of the murdered in the Rhône, whereby they
 were carried to Avignon and found, having this
 Bill set upon their Stomach, LET PASS THE
 BEARERS, FOR THEY HAVE PAID THE TOLL AT
 MORNAS. One of the poor Wretches having
 been cast headlong from the top of the Castle,
 caught a piece of the Rock in the middle of
 the way from the top to the bottom, and remain-
 ed so hanging with his Hands; and tho' they
 fired at him many times, nevertheless he could
 never be hit, whereupon Montbrun ordered to
 relieve and save him, and took him into his Ser-
 vice.

This Victory of Montbrun's frightened the In-
 habitants of Caderouse, Pyoulene, Orange, Cour-
 taïson, Bederrides and Chateauneuf to such a de-
 gree, that they forsook their Habitations and fled
 to Avignon, Carpentras, Vaïson, and other strong
 Places. Montbrun could not pursue his Victory,
 tho' he knew that his Enemies were in a terrible
 Fright, because he was obliged to send part of
 his Troops to *Cisteron* which was besieged; he
 went

went to Bolena, and was there attacked by Suze, but the Montbrunians sallied upon him with such fury, that he was obliged to retreat, having lost great part of his Foot.

Charles
IX.
1563.
Pope Pius
IV.

Montbrun marching out of Bolena, took possession of Vaureas on the 23d of July, where he stayed 'till Des Adrets arrived, who trusting on his good Fortune or on the Valour of his Troops, resolved to give battle, and sallied upon Suze with such Violence and Ardour, that he routed him in a little time; then without giving his Army a full day of rest, he came to the Pont of Sorgues, and carried by storm the Town and the Castle all at once. Those of Avignon were so much terrified at this Success, that they were afraid lest they should not be able to keep their City; and it was confidently said, that had Des Adrets attacked it at that time, he would have carried it, which would have been of very great advantage to his Party: but instead of that, he went to Carpentras, which having besieged in vain, he came back to Valence.

Vaureas.

Pont of
Sorgues.

There he was oftentimes intreated by Mouvans's Letters, who was besieged in Cisteron, to come to his relief; and at last he assembled his Army, muster'd it, and marched towards Cisteron; he forced in his way St. Laurent des Arbres and Roccamaure, and burned to the ground the Castle of the Bridge of Sorgues, kept by Italian Troops, who perished in the Flames. The next day 30th of August, Serbellonne sent some Frigates loaded with Soldiers up the Rhône, thinking to amuse Des Adrets on that side, while he would attack him on another; he came out, being attended by all the Nobility of Avignon and three hundred Foot picked out of all the Companies: But Des Adrets guessing what he intended to do, divided his Troops, part of whom attacked the Frigates,

Charles
IX.
1563.
Pope Pius
IV.

Frigates, while the others sallied upon the Enemy with such Fury, that Serbellonne escaped narrowly, having had his Horse killed under him, and lost most part of his Foot.



Des Adrets took his way along the Durance; when he arrived at Cavaillon, he received news, that a great Body of Enemies was seen coming to Orgon over against Cavaillon, whereupon he forded the River with his Army, and falling upon them, he routed them. There he put a stop to his Victories; for either out of Resentment for the ill Usage he pretended to have received from the Prince, or out of Jealousy against Mouvens, instead of marching to the relief of Cisteron, and may be, thinking to be time enough before that Place, he took another way, and so was the occasion of the loss of that important City. For Montbrun, who had been another way more easy for the Artillery, endeavouring to enter into Cisteron, was routed by Suze with the loss of all his Ammunition and Artillery and part of his Troops. Therefore Mouvens having lost all hopes of relief, was obliged to leave the City, and retire thro' the Mountains in the night-time with most of the Inhabitants. We will give a particular account of that Siege and Retreat, when we shall come to the Article of Provence.

*First Siege
of Greno-
ble.*

The taking of Cisteron and the Retreat of Des Adrets, caused a great Revolution in the Affairs of Dauphiné; Gap was so much frightened, that the Reformed deserted it, and the Catholics took possession of it; the same thing happen'd in several other Places. As to Grenoble, the Catholics did their utmost Endeavours to recover it, and especially Maugiron, who besieged it twice in four Months time; the first time about the middle of September, by his Lieutenant the Baron of Sasseynage, with an Army

Army of six thousand Men; there was not two hundred Soldiers in the City, who had almost no Provisions nor Ammunition, and the City-Walls were not strong enough to resist the Cannons; that Siege lasted about twenty Days, but two things were of great Advantage to the Besieged. 1st. The Enemy had no Cannon. 2dly. The Commanders did not agree among themselves, for Sasseynage having no Experience, the Officers who understood the Military Art did not obey him willingly. Captain La Coche, commanding Officer in the Place, seeing that the City was put to great straits for want of Provisions, and that he could not stand a long Siege, sent some of his Men in the night-time to Des Adrets, to give him notice of the State they were in, but the Messengers minding only their Safety, and not that of their Fellow-Citizens, went not whither they had been sent. La Coche despairing to be relieved, proposed several times to the Enemy to decide the matter by a single Combat of an hundred, twenty or ten of each side, and that whoever should be victorious, should be master of the City; but that extraordinary Proposal was not hearkened to; therefore he proposed other terms: but while they were debating about them, a Succour unexpected coming from Romans and Valence, and led by Captain Furmeyer arrived. The Besiegers hearing of this, resolved to meet and fight them; the River Drac was between them, and Furmeyer was obliged to ford it, in order either to attack the Camp, or to enter into the City. Therefore Sasseynage sent a Detachment of his Troops in order to hinder the Passage; four hundred Horse and a Company of Foot concealed themselves in a Wood beyond the Ford, in order to assault Furmeyer by the back, as he would be crossing the River. But that

Charles
IX.
1563.
Pope Pius
IV.

Charles IX. 1563. Pope Pius IV. Captain, who had passed the whole night in a neighbouring Village, having set his Troops in Battle-Array early in the Morning, began his March towards the River, not doubting but the Enemy would come and oppose his Passage; but as he was entering the River, turning accidentally his Head towards the Wood, he saw the Enemy coming out of it, then without telling his Troops what he had seen, lest they should be frightned, he commanded them to go back to the Place from whence they were come, under Pretence that the Waters were too deep. Now the Enemy seeing that Motion, thought that Furmeyer was frightned and fled, insulted him and his Troops, calling them Cowards. Furmeyer did not think proper to delay any longer, lest other Troops should cross the River, and that he should be between two fires, but he attacked the Enemy with such Bravery, that he routed and kill'd most part of them, having lost but very few of his Men; then coming back to the River, he fell with such fury upon the Musketeers who opposed his Passage, that they were routed and most part slain by the Horse who pursued them. Those who had been left before Grenoble, understanding what had happened, stay'd not 'till Furmeyer should be with them, but raising the Siege in all haste, fled into Savoy.

*Second
Siege.*

Three Months after, viz. the 28th of February 1563, that City was besieged again by Maugiron in person, with an Army of eight thousand Men, Horse and Foot, two Cannons, and three Field-pieces, which played for three days together. Captain la Coche had with him nine other Captains, some Noblemen, and six hundred brave Soldiers, besides the Militia of the City, and they worked night and day chearfully, carrying Fascines

Fascines and Earth to raise Trenches within the City.

Charles IX.

1563.

Pope Pius IV.

Part of the Wall being thrown down by the Cannon-shots, Maugiron caused an Assault to be given, whereupon they endeavoured three times to carry the Place, some entering thro' the Breach, while others made use of Ladders, but they were repuls'd every where with great loss. The Count of Cursol, who was then at Valence, understanding the great Danger the City was in, sent to their relief with all speed. But those Succours being arrived within eight Miles of Grenoble, the Duke of Nemours, who was then besieging Lyons, ordered Maugiron to come without delay to join him with his Troops, whereupon he was obliged to raise the Siege.

As to Des Adrets, we have said above how displeased he had been at the Prince sending Mons. de Soubise to be Governor of Lyons, and especially how exasperated he was, when he saw the Admiral's Letters to Soubize, and which by the Treachery of the Bearer thereof, had been delivered into the Marshal of Brissac's hands, and sent by him to the Duke of Nemours, and to Des Adrets himself; since that time, he not only was disheartned, but even began to think of revenging himself. And indeed it was a great piece of Imprudence in Soubize, proceeding from Jealousy, to write as he did to the Admiral against Des Adrets, and to trust himself to a Man who had been formerly in Marshal De Brissac's Service; what could be expected from a Man of Des Adrets's Temper, who knew very well that his House was as noble and ancient as Soubize's, and that his Capacity was not a tittle inferior to his, and who had already given so many Proofs of his Zeal for that Party, and had so well succeeded 'till then in his Undertakings?

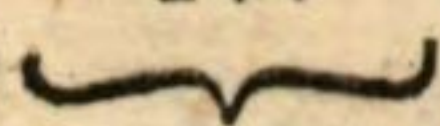
Charles

IX.

1563.

Pope Pius

IV.



Indeed a Man must not be always judged by his Actions, but also by the Circumstances he is in, and the Reasons which induce him to act after such and such a manner; but if that is a rule, then Des Adrets will not be deem'd quite unexcusable, when he suffered himself to be led astray by the Duke of Nemours. However, he had several private Conferences with that Lord, and having agreed with him upon a Truce of twelve Days, which was prorogued for four Months, he endeavoured to persuade the States of Dauphiné to receive Nemours as Governor of that Province, and insisting upon that, was arrested Prisoner at Romans on the 10th of January 1563, from whence he was brought to Valence by Mouvans, from thence by the Count of Culsol's Orders he was brought to Nimes, from thence to Montpellier, and then again to Nimes, where he was shut close Prisoner in the Castle, where he remained 'till the Peace was published at the beginning of the ensuing April, when he was released without being condemn'd or clear'd; and indeed if Beza is to be credited, it appears by his Examination, that there was no plain Evidence against him but Suspicions only. He turn'd, and died a Roman Catholick as abovesaid (a).

Of PROV-
VENCE.

This Province was one of the most exposed to the Fury of the Catholicks, its Parliament was the most unjust, and the bloodiest of all others in the Kingdom; and it is not possible to give a particular Account of the numberless Injustices, Cruelties and horrid Barbarities committed either by the Orders or Connivance of that Court: it is enough to say, that besides those that were slain in the War, being armed for their just Defence, there

(a) See upon the Article of Dauphiné Beze liv. xii. Dinoth. lib. ii. p. 125, &c. Thuan. lib. xxxi.

there were above seven hundred Men, near as many Women or Maids of all ages, and about a hundred Children from three Months to twelve Years of age that were murdered in different ways more cruel one than another. Some Men and Women were hung by their Feet, and being still alive, had their Belly ript; others were burned alive after having been unmercifully beaten; others were dragged thro' the Streets, tyed by their Feet at their Afs's Tail; others were stoned to death; others were scourged to death stark naked, without distinction of Sex; others had their Eyes plucked out, their Nose and their Ears cut off, then cast headlong upon the Rocks; others were buried alive; others, without distinction of Sex, were impaled; others had their Members chopt to pieces; others were drowned; others were cast half dead to be devoured by Dogs and Hogs; others were starved to death with Cold and Hunger. This Desolation lasted from the taking of Cisteron to the Edict of Peace, and even then the Reformed saw not an end of their Miseries, the Parliament conniving at all these Injustices and Wickednesses. Several were slain only because they bewailed the Fate of their unhappy Fellow-Citizens; some were burned alive by pining away, but the great Diversion of the Provençal Roman Catholicks was to cut off the Men's Privy-parts, to tye them up in their Mouths, then to make them walk along the Streets, and after having tortured them in many other ways, if they were weak enough to yield to the Temptation and go to Mass, then they murdered them, saying, that they ought to think themselves very happy to die when they were reconciled to the Church. All these Barbarities were put in use against the Reformed of Provence

Charles
IX.
1563.
Pope Pius
IV.

Charles
IX.

1563.

Pope Pius
IV.

at the Inflation, or at least the Connivance of the bloody Parliament of that Province.

When the Edict of January was granted, Fumée and Ponat were sent Commissaries to Aix, to examine the Departments of the Judges and Counsellors. Claudius of Savoy Count of Tendes was Governor of Provence, a very good Man indeed, who was not averse to the Reformed Religion, and who sought sincerely and earnestly the Welfare of his Country; he had two Sons and a Daughter, the eldest by his first Wife was Honorat de Sommerive, the youngest by a second Wife was René de Cipierre; he was very fond of this, because of the likeness of Temper and Inclinations, but the eldest was very proud, and of a very rough and troublesome Temper; his Daughter Anna was married to James Cardet of the illustrious House of Saluces; he was very curious in pleasing his Father-in-law in every thing, and countenanced the Reformed. Now the House of Pontevéz bore a great sway in that Country, the chief whereof was the Count of Carces, Flaffans his Brother was Governor of Aix and first Consul, which Honour was bestowed only upon those of the first Nobility. Carces, who was always ready for any new Troubles and Commotions, seduced Sommerive, and offering to him the Guise's Friendship and Protection, he told him, that whatever he would ask he should obtain, if he forsook his Father (who had an ill report amongst the People, because he countenanced the Reformed) to side with the Catholick Party and become their Chief; that in such a case, the King would give him the Government of the Province. That ambitious and surly Youth was easily persuaded by that crafty Man, who estranged him from his Father.

Mean

Mean while the Count of Cursol, together with the Count of Tendes, came to Marignan, four Leagues from Aix. From thence they sent the Viscount Cadenet to that City, but he found the Gates shut up by Flassans, which however were opened at the Viscount's second coming, and some Counsellors and Consuls were sent to the said Count's to excuse the Fact, laying the fault upon Flassans. The Inhabitants, at the Pontevesian's Instigation, had been exceedingly unjust, outrageous and cruel against their Fellow-Citizens of the Reformed Religion, and having placed their Cannons in the great Streets, and upon the Towers and the Church-Steeple, and hired some Troops, they had mured up the City-Gates, two excepted. But the Viscount de Cadenet having been admitted, caus'd all the Gates to be opened, the Soldiers to be disbanded, and the Artillery to be drawn back, and Flassans had orders to wait upon the Count of Cursol; but he refused to obey and avoided the City, for which cause he was deprived of his Consulship. Then the said Count having sent in the City as many Forces as he thought necessary, came in himself on the 5th of February 1563, and the next day opened his Commission before the Parliament, and install'd the Commissaries sent with him from the King in the exercise of their Office; then he acquainted the Parliament with the King's Will, and let them know, that these Commissaries were ordered to take cognizance of the many Extortions and Violences committed by the Judges, whereof Complaints had been made to his Majesty. Then having caused the Januarian Edict to be publish'd and register'd, he order'd a place to be fitted up without the City for the Reformed religious Meetings, and lest they should be insulted, he disarm'd all the Populace, and caus'd their Arms

Charles
IX.
1563.
Pope Pius
IV.

Charles
IX.1563.
Pope Pius
IV.

to be carried into the Town-House. Lastly, he deprived the Consuls and those Counsellors of Parliament who had sided with Flassans, and fill'd up their places with others not suspected.

Flassans full of rage went to Brignoles with the Forces he had levy'd, with Colours display'd, bearing the Pope's arms, and being preceded by a Franciscan Fryar, who bore a large wooden Cross, just as at the Funerals, each of his Soldiers had a ROSARY hanging at his neck. Then having told them, that every one of them should hunt after the Hereticks to murder them, or else keep them to do with them at their pleasure; that Order was so exactly obey'd, that wherever they could meet with any Reformed, they murder'd them unmercifully, sometimes upon the spot, and at other times after they had kept them long in prison and extorted their Money from them.

Amongst other Cruelties, this piece must not pass unmention'd, for it furnishes us with a great Argument of their Zeal for their Religion. One of Flassans's Associates, an intimate Friend to him, being enter'd into SIGNE, a Town of Provence, and having met his own Sister in his way, caused her to be deflowred in the Street, first by that Cross-bearer, and then by six others, and at last had her Belly basted with hot dropping Lard, because she was a Reformed.

The Flassanians having for some time made several Incurfions in the Country, committed many Plunders and Ravages, were besieged at Barjols, and part of them taken, the Town being stormed on the sixth of March, four hundred were put to the sword, amongst whom was that Franciscan Fryar, and the rest being taken Prisoners (Flassans excepted, who had fled) some of the more seditious were hang'd, De Guillerame, D'En-

trages

trages and Laidé were beheaded at Aix by Sentence of the Commissaries. The Behaviour of two Companies of the Waldenses, one of Lormarin and the other of Merindol, deserves to be taken notice of; the Town being storm'd, instead of running a plundering like the rest of the Army, they went into a Field, and devoutly kneeling down, gave God thanks for the Victory they had got. They were met in that Posture by Cardet Son-in-law to the Count of Tendes, who asked them why they did not follow the example of others, and take their share of the Spoil? *We have taken Arms, say they, for the Glory of God and the Service of the King, we have endeavour'd to perform our Duty when we have been called to fight, and whereas we are not covetous of Other's Goods, we have retired into this place to give God thanks for the Victory, waiting for our General's Commands.*

After that Victory, it would not have been a difficult task to restore the Tranquillity in Provence, had not Mons. de Cursol been ordered by the Queen-Mother to go into Languedoc, and then to repair immediately to Court. Nevertheless, before the two Counts parted, they put Garrisons into the several Cities and Towns of the Province, whereby the Country remained peaceable enough for a little time (*p*).

But after the Vassiacan Massacre, the Guises failed not to write to Sommerive, Carces, Flafans and others of that Party, desiring them to make themselves ready for executing the Orders which would be sent to them. The Count of Tendes likewise received orders from Court on the latter end of April for disbanding the Garrisons, which orders he obey'd. Then arrived a Warrant

(*p*) Thuan. lib. xxxi. p. 139, 140. Beze liv. v. p. 894, to the end of the Book.

Charles
IX.1563.
Pope Pius
IV.

Warrant to Sommerive, constituting him Governor and the King's Lieutenant General in Provence in his Father's absence; Flassans and others his Associates, were likewise restor'd to their Honors and Dignities, and receiv'd Commissions for raising Troops, Horse and Foot, as much as they could; whereby from the beginning of May all the Country was in arms against the Reformed, and numberless Evils and Disorders ensu'd.

I will not enter into the Particulars of the Sieges, Fights, Battels, Murders and Massacres, and other Enormities perpetrated in that Province, but whereas the retreat of the Cisteronians had something in itself so marvellous, that it can be only paralleled in History by the ten thousand Grecians Retreat under the Conduct of Xenophon, I shall insert here an account of it.

*Cisteron's
first Siege.*

Cisteron, a Town in Provence, was besieged twice by Sommerive; the first time on the 10th of July, which he was obliged to raise on the 28th, after having furiously battered the Place, and having made a large Breach in the Wall whereby he endeavour'd to storm it, but was always repulsed with loss; at last fearing lest Des Adrets, after his Victory at Vaureas, would come and relieve the place, he raised the Siege as above said, and encamped about nine miles from

*Second
Siege.*

Cisteron. The second time was on the 27th of August by the same Gentleman, with an Army of a hundred and two Ensigns, and a great number of Cornets, the whole Army could not be less than twenty thousand Men, Horse and Foot, and whereas he saw that he could do nothing without being master of two Hillocks which commanded the Town, attacked them, but without success, 'till the besieged understanding that Montbrun came to their relief, forsook these two Hillocks to seize the Bridge upon the River Bueck,

Bueck, which way Montbrun was to pass; but Sommerive having set a Battery upon the Hills, came and drove them from that Bridge; by which means the Town was surrounded on all sides, one excepted, which lieth upon a high steep Rock. On the fourth of September, Sommerive battered the Town in a most furious manner, so far that at ten in the Morning, the Breach was of one hundred and forty Paces, without any Ravelin to oppose it, then the Town was assaulted by thirty-three Ensigns and a Cornet, the fight lasted nine hours, having been renew'd five times with equal Obstinacy and Fury, in so much that the Assailants and the Assailed, for want of Powder, fought with their Swords and with Stones; at last the Assailed's Constancy overcame the Assailants Obstinacy. Sommerive seeing that he had been repulsed with great loss, caused his Canon to be remov'd to another place, and batter'd the place a-new. Whereupon Mouvans (tho' not yet cur'd of a Wound he had receiv'd in his Leg by a Cannon-shot) and the other Captains were in great perplexity, knowing not what to do for want of Gun-powder and all other kind of Provisions, having lost a great number of their Men, and being without any hopes of relief, and considering on the other hand the great Strength and Obstinacy of their Enemies; besides, they were touch'd to the quick with the Misery of the poor Inhabitants, whom they could not defend by any human means, nor bring into any place of Safety, since there was only that by-way between the steep Rock above-mention'd, which was not surrounded by the Enemies. At last having earnestly pray'd to God, seeing that there was no other way of escaping, they resolv'd to follow that Path, and gave the necessary Orders to the Inhabitants, Men and Women of all ages,

Charles
IX.
1563.
Pope Pius
IV.

Charles
IX.1563.
Pope Pius
IV.

ages, to be ready for departing at eleven o'clock at night.

Tho' that Resolution had been taken in secret, nevertheless a Traitor who had been present at their Consultation, slipped away into the Enemy's Camp, and informed Sommerive of the Resolution taken in the City; whereupon he resolved to oppose the execution of it, and for that end, to send twenty or twenty-five Horse and some Foot to guard that Path, which was more than enough for the purpose. That Resolution had almost pass'd in the Council of War, when God by his mighty Providence, averted the evil prepared for those poor Wretches, permitting that Mons. de Cental was so far incredulous, that he voted that such a Man as the Defenter was, ought not to be credited; that such a Retreat was impossible, and that the relation of it was a Trick of the Inhabitants, to oblige them to send a Detachment to that place, and in the mean while to make a Sally upon their Camp and seize their Artillery; therefore his Opinion was, to scorn such an idle Tale, and not to stir out from the place they were in. However ridiculous that Opinion was, nevertheless it prevailed in the Council, and no body did stir out of the Camp.

All this while, the Cisteronians were a packing up whatever they could carry along with them, loading their Asses, Mules and Horses, with the old ones, children, sick, lame and wounded, which could not be done without much noise, and the whole Town being lighted by Lamps put at the Windows, it was very surprising that the Camp took no notice of them.

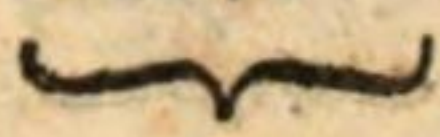
*The Cisteronians
Retreat.*

The Hour appointed being come, they began their march thro' a Gate out of use, to go to the Bridge, and from thence thro' another small Gate into the by-way, and so they walked one after another

another all the Night long, which was between the fourth and fifth of September 1562, without being discover'd by the Enemy. The fifth of September, at break of day, Sommerive caus'd some Horse and Foot to cross the River, who charged some Women that had stay'd behind, murdering some of them, and leading the others Prisoners, for they did not care to go any further for fear of losing their share of the Spoils of Cisteron: And indeed at ten a clock in the Morning, Sommerive entered into the Town not without fear, for he suspected still that this Retreat was but a Stratagem. He gave positive Orders to spare no body of either Sex or Religion; true it is, that very few Men remain'd, but about four hundred Women or Children were cruelly murdered by those Monsters, and the Town having been ranfack'd, Sommerive set out leaving in it a Garrison of seven Companies and Montagut for their Governour.

Now to come back to our poor Adventurers: Having walk'd all the Night, and the next Day, the 5th of September, through several By-ways, they arrived at four in the Afternoon, harassed with Fatigue, at Barles, a small Village, seven long Leagues distant from Cisteron; they staid there till dark, waiting for their sick and wounded, and some poor Women; some of whom had been even delivered upon the Road: and a Review having been made, there was found four thousand in all, a thousand and no more of whom were able to bear Arms and fight. Then by Mouvans's Orders, part of the Arquebusiers marched in the Van, and the rest in the Rear; and the Women, Children, Sick, &c. in the Centre; so they came to Sallonet, a Village, where they rested for the remaining part of the Night. The next Morning, on the 6th of the same Month, they

Charles
IX.
1563.
Pope Pius
IV.



they set out in order to go to Gap, which is only eight Leagues distant from Cisteron by the streight Road, instead of which they had fourteen to walk, by the By-ways they went through. But being come to Baye for crossing the River Durance, they understood that their Enemies had laid Ambushes upon two Hills, between which they were obliged to pass, if they went by the same Road they had taken; a young Gentlewoman was so much frightened at it, that she miscarried upon the Spot. So they were obliged to come back by another way, because the Country People had made the Hue and Cry after them in the former; so they took their Way through a Place called *Le Pas du Lozet*, which is a big large Rock split asunder, between which one must pass as thro' a Gate to go into a Valley called *Terreneuve*, which led from Provence into Piedmont; therefore the Arquebusiers, fearing lest that Road should be obstructed by their Enemies, went before to take Possession of it, which being known by the Inhabitants of *Lozet*, a small Village, they were upon the point of rising in Arms in earnest; but Senas and Mouvens being arrived, they came to an Agreement with them, that the Women and Children only should enter into the Village, till they had received an Answer from their Prince, which they waited for on the other side of the Mountain. Nevertheless when the Inhabitants saw that the Women, which they had received into their Village, paid ready Money for whatever they took; and seeing besides, that they were not themselves the strongest, they gave leave to the Men to come in, and so they rested there all the Night. The next Morning, the 7th of the same Month, having resolved to go to Grenoble, they set out with stormy Weather,

ther, which lasted till Mid-day, nevertheless they marched, and with the greatest trouble arrived at *St. Paulo*, a Village where they lay that Night. On the 8th, as they went on the Road to Dauphiné, they had notice that the Archbishop of Embrun had laid a great Ambush for them; whereupon they were forced to take the Road of *Pragela* in a very barren Country, so they arrived at a Village called *La Chanau*, which they found quite emptied of all the Inhabitants, and Utensils; they were forced to lie there that Night, and feed upon Cabbages. On the 9th, having crossed the strait way of *La Guel*, one of the steepest Mountains of all that Country, they came to *Molieres* a Village, where they found another Ambush laid for them by the Governor of Briancon, whereby they were forced to march still, till they arrived at *Broias*, another Village, where they rested, and fed upon Bread and Milk. On the 10th, they went thro' the strait Way of *L'Argentiere*, and came to *Sauze*, a Village a League distant from *Pragela*, where they sojourned four Days, because of the Plenty of Victuals. On the 15th, they arrived at *Pragela*, where they were supplied with every thing necessary, and rested there eight Days; the Inhabitants of the place were part of the ancient Waldenses. Now the Captains who led them, seeing that the Country was not abundant enough, and could not feed the Women and Children, they came back to the Village of *Sauze*, being escorted by three hundred Men of *Pragela* and of the Valley of *Angrogne*, from whence they received some Provisions of Gun-powder. On the next Day, the 22d of September, they expected to arrive at *Grenoble* or *Valence*; but Mouvens and the other Captains suspecting that

Charles
IX.
1563.
Pope Pius
IV.

Charles
IX.
1563.
Pope Pius
IV.

the Governor of Briançon would hinder their Passage by some Ambushes, had sent some of their Men about Midnight for to *reconnoitre*, and disposed every thing in such a manner, that the next Morning the whole Troop was at the break of Day near Briançon's Walls, in order to cross the Durance over a Bridge, lying about a Mile from that City; but having to stand a Skirmish, they were obliged to send back their Troop while it lasted, and to make them go to another Bridge about a Mile from that place; but that Bridge being broken, they were almost stupified, till Senas and Mouvens, who stood in Battle Array between their Enemies and their Troop that waited for them at the broken Bridge; being arrived, and their Enemies withdrawn, ordered their Horse to ford the River, and to draw themselves in a Battle Array on the other Bank of the River; then by means of some Planks and Peaches, they crossed the River with all their People in three hours time, in the Sight of the Briançonese, who never dared to attack them; so they came to the Village of *Fresfinieres*, three Leagues from Briançon, through very steep and barren Mountains, the Inhabitants whereof were Reformed of a long standing. They set out from that Place about Mid-night, and arrived before Mid-day, on the 23d of September at a poor Village call'd *Orsiere*, where they found no Inhabitants nor Bread or Wine, but only some few Sheep that the Peasants could not carry along with them, when they had fled into the Mountains; therefore they were obliged to feed upon them the best they could, for they had neither eat nor drunk since their setting out. The same day they came to the Village of *St. Bennet*, three Leagues distant from Gap, and so they were but
eleven

eleven Leagues from Cisteron, and only three from their Enemies, who had took possession of Gap. Besides, that they were exposed to a very threatening danger unknown to them, for VINAY having had a false notice of Senas and Mouvans besieging Briançon, had left without delay the Siege of *Grenoble*, and was arriv'd with eight Ensigns at *Corp*, only two Leagues distant from *St. Bonnet*. Nevertheless, Senas and Mouvans thinking that *Grenoble* was still besieged, and having resolv'd to march to a place two Leagues only distant from *Grenoble*, from whence they thought to send their People to *Valence*, set out from *St. Bonnet* very early in the Morning, in order to go to *Corp*, taking it to be the safest way, and marched without any order 'till they were arriv'd at a quarter of a League from that Village, in a narrow way over against a Mountain; but then St. Martin Son-in-law to Senas, and D'Espinasse going before, and minding of nothing less than of what they met, they saw a Peasant whom Vinay had set as Centinel, who knowing them not, and taking them to be some Gentlemen of the Neighbourhood, told them, that Vinay was at *Corp* with his Troops. Which being immediately related to Senas and Mouvans, they order'd the Women and Children to be set aside with some Arquebuziers, causing them to cross the River, and with the rest they marched towards *Corp* in battle-array; but being arrived at the place where they had met the Centinel, they found him not, and saw that Vinay having got notice of their coming, had took possession of the Path, and caused some of his Soldiers to go up the Mountain to roll Stones from the top of it down upon them. Whereupon they went back, and crossed the River over the same Bridge as their People, who waited for them on the other

Charles
IX
1563
Pope Pius
IV.

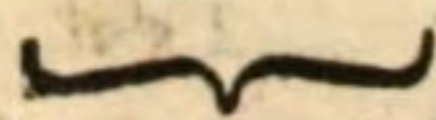
Charles

IX.

1563.

Pope Pius

IV.



side of the Water, so they encamped all together over against *Corp*, in the sight of their Enemies, expecting to be relieved from the *Trieves*, which Country was held by the Reformed, and was only two Leagues distant ; but having waited in vain for some time, and being not able for hunger to stay any longer, they caused the Women and Children to march in the Front, and they in the Rear, so they arriv'd at *Mens* in *Trieves*, and were very kindly receiv'd by the Inhabitants. They rested there a whole day, and on the 27th, they continued their Journey without any Obstacle, and arriv'd well and safe at *Grenoble*, praising God and singing of Psalms adapted to their Circumstances. They were quarter'd at a place call'd *Giery*, half a League distant from *Grenoble*, where having rested three days, and left part of their sick in that City, they set out the first of October for *Lyons*, where those poor distressed People had been invited by the Reformed, who even had sent one of their Ministers to meet them at *La Mure*. The Lord of Soubize had likewise written to Senas and Mouvans, desiring them to make all the haste they could to join him with their Men. Therefore, being set out on the said day, they lodged that Night at *Moyrants* ; the next day they came to *Virieu*, where Des Adrets met them, and led them all the night till they came upon the Road of *Cremieu*, for avoiding Nemours's Ambushes ; they arriv'd in that place on the third in the Morning, and from thence they went by Water to *Lyons*, that had sent thither several Boats, and arrived in that City on the fourth of October, where they were most kindly receiv'd, and with the greatest Demonstrations of Commiseration, Joy and Love. So ended that Journey, after having travelled for a Month, being set out from Cisteron on the fourth

fourth of September, and having gone through many Hardships and escaped many threatening Dangers. This is the true Account of that most famous Retreat given by Thuanus and Beza, with some little difference in their relations, too inconsiderable to be insisted upon. I shall add only, that they stay'd at Lyons 'till May 1563, when Peace being made, they went back to their former Habitations (q).

Charles
IX.
1563.
Pope Pius
IV.

Before I leave the Government of Provence, I will subjoin here another Instance of the great Barbarities wherewith the Reformed were used in it.

The Lord of *Mandols's* Son having married the Daughter of the Baron of *Bormes*, and being with his Father-in-law and his own Lady at the Castle of *Moant* in the latter end of May 1562, the Lord of *Briançonnet*, taking upon himself the Title of Deputy-Governor in those parts, (under pretence that some Reformed were fled from *Hieres* and *Bormes* into that Castle, in order to save their Lives) besieged the said Castle, and a few days after having been admitted into it on certain Terms, instead of keeping his Word, he shut up in a Cellar about thirty Men that were found in it, amongst whom were two Ministers, where they suffered all sorts of Miseries; and as to the Lords of *Bormes* and *Demandols*, he sent them Prisoners to his own House at *Grasse*, a League distant from the place. Then he resolv'd to besiege likewise the Castle of the Lord *Demandols* the Father, who having notice of it, and thinking to avoid the Siege by sending away all his Servants and other People able to defend themselves, because *Briançonnet* used that Pretence for attacking him, had accordingly sent them

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(q) Beza liv. xiii. p. 329 to 336. Thuan. lib. xxxi. p. 145, 146, 147.

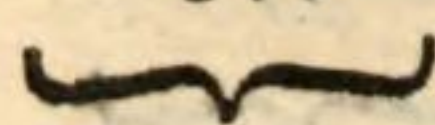
Charles

IX

1563.

Pope Pius

IV.



them into Savoy under the Conduct of one of his Brethren, but as they went near the Village of *St. Auban*, three Leagues from *Demandols*, seventeen of them with their Chief, were barbarously murdered by the Peasants, in the sight and at the instigation of the Lord and Lady of that place, who were cruel enough to stand at their Castle-Windows to see the Execution.

In the mean while, some of *Briançonnet's* Men led by one *Raupe*, having joined a Troop of Murderers sent by the Bishop of Senez, came to *Demandols*, wherein no body could make any resistance, but what could be expected from an old decrepit Gentleman and some Women and Children. Now the Castle commanding all the adjacent Country, these Murderers were discover'd from afar, whereupon that good Nobleman walked out thro' rugged Mountains, to a place called *Vergons*, with his Lady, a Daughter of theirs of about 12 Years of age, his Sister-in-law with a Child of six Months old, another Woman with two Children, a young Chamber-Maid, a Servant-Maid and two *Laquais*, in hopes that those Robbers (for so they deserve to be called) having found his Castle opened, and having plundered it, would be gone; but not satisfied with having ranfack'd it, they set fire to it, and to the Stables, Barns and Mills, cut down the Trees and Vinyards, and wasted every thing; then having heard what happen'd at *St. Auban*, they went thither to take their share of the Spoils. All this while, the Lord of the Mannor was concealed in a Wood near *Vergons*, with all the above-mentioned Persons, and receiv'd their Food from the Bailif of *Vergons* a Roman-Catholick, but an old Acquaintance and Friend to the said Lord. This tryal lasted 'till some of *Demandols* Inhabitants pretending a readiness to pay their Services

Services to their good Lord, and having met with one Michel Bourgarel, desir'd him to inquire where their good Lord was, and to let him know, that if he would meet them at *Charoupet*, a place of his own Demefn, they would bring him back to his own ruined Castle. The Lord Demandols, having receiv'd this Message, failed not to come with all his Company, and Bourgarel himself, to the appointed place; and being tired with the fatigue, lay down near a Rivulet and fell a-sleep, till they were awakened at break of day with an Arquebuss-shot; then the said Lord stood up, called them by their names, and thanked them for their good Office; but those Tygers fell upon him and his Company, and without any regard for Age or Sex murder'd them. However Bourgarel escaped, for having took in his Arms his two Children, he ran away with them for a while, and being tir'd hid them under a Bush, where they remain'd without crying 'till about ten a Clock; when their Father coming back, took them out of that place, and from thence going upon the spot where the murder had been committed, he found his Wife murdered, and the Corpse of his Lord and Lady, their Daughter, Maids and Servants lying stark naked upon the ground. Besides that Man and his two Children, the Preservation of the Lord Demandols's Sister-in-law and his Nephew of six Months old, was very providential. As the Murderers were busy in killing others, she took her little Baby in her Arms, and went to a Bush where she put him and lay down upon him to cover him; there they beat her so unmercifully, that they left her for dead, being covered all over with Stones: and whereas it was full Day-light, they did not mind to undress her, and so they did not see the Baby, who had been all the while

Charles IX.
1563.
Pope Pius IV.

Charles IX. under his Mother very quiet without crying, and so both the Mother and Child were saved (r)

1563. Such were the Desolations of that Province
Pope Pius IV. 'till the Edict of Peace was published, and even then by the Connivance and at the Instigation of several Members of the Parliament of Aix, those Murderers ceased not for a while to commit many Disorders, notwithstanding the King's Prohibitions, when he came thither in Person, and the Execution of several of their Gang.

Of LAN- On Friday the sixth of February 1562, the
GUEDOC. Januarian Edict was published and registered in the Parliament of Thoulouse without any great Reluctancy; and accordingly the Minister Du Nort qualified himself, and took the Oath before the Magistrate, as prescribed by the Edict, and preached without the City; the Capitouls and Viguiers of Thoulouse (*they are Magistrates whose Office answers to that of Alderman and Sheriff, they are eight in number, elected every Year*) being present. These beginnings were very quiet; then by the Parliament's Orders, the Assembly was removed to another place, and for teezing the Reformed, it was again removed.

Tamult at Thoulouse. But to put a stop to these Changes, they built a Church at their own Charge, large enough to hold eight thousand People, which even was not sufficient, for more than that number were oblig'd to stand without doors in the Church-Yard. Whereat the Priests and others concerned in the preservation of the Romish Superstitions, were much displeased, and began to tamper with the People. They prevailed so far, that the Reformed were abused as they went to or came back from their Assemblies, and at last they came to Blows. To avoid which, the Capitouls and Viguiers thought proper

(r) Beze liv. xiii. p. 377—380.

per to accompany the Ministers with their Serjeants and Archers to hear the Sermons ; and there is no doubt but had the Parliament been as well intentioned as the Magistrates, the Tranquillity of the City would have been preserved. But several Members of it postponing the publick Good to their private Interest, and understanding how the Court stood affected, and the Practices of the Constable Governor of Languedoc, and of the Guises for bringing the King of Navarr over to their Party, instead of providing for the publick Welfare, used all their Endeavours for obstructing the Observation of the Edict, even so far as to release some seditious, who had been put in Prison by the Capitouls ; and every day those Magistrates were summoned to appear either at the Parliament-house, or at some of the Counsellors Houses, there to be censured and frightened out of their Duty.

Charles
IX.
1563.
Pope Pius
IV.

The Priests, supported by such an Authority, waited only for an Opportunity of raising a Tumult in the City ; at last they met with it at the Funeral of a Reformed Woman, who being carried to the Grave with a very small Attendance according to her Desire, the Priests took the Corps in order to bury it after the Roman Church's way, and caused the Bells to ring, in order to raise the People in Arms ; they were so well obeyed, that the Catholicks came from all Quarters, and fell upon the Reformed where-ever they met with them with Stones and Swords, wounded many and killed some of them. The News of this Insurrection having been brought before the Parliament, they sent two Counsellors to inquire about the matter, and endeavour by all means to pacify every thing. Instead of which, as they were of the seditious Party, they kindled a-new the fire which was almost quenched, exhorting

Charles

IX.

1562.

Pope Pius

IV.



that frantick Multitude of Priests and rude Mob, to kill all the Hugonots, and giving them licence for plundering their Houses, telling them further, that the Parliament ordered it so. The Rabble incited by those grave Senators Exhortations, rushed into the Houses of the Reformed, and plundered whatever they could find. Whereupon the Reformed frightened, ran in Arms to the Town-House, imploring the Protection and Assistance of the Capitouls, against the Violence offered to them. The Capitouls sent for the Captain of the Watch, and ordered him to suppress that Fury of the Rabble, lest something worse should happen. He being accompanied by his Satellites and some Students of the University who join'd with them, rush'd in upon the said Rabble, and put them to flight; nevertheless, the People flocking again from every part of the City, the Tumult was renewed, which lasted till night.

The next day some of the Senators met with the Capitouls and some Counsellors, Advocates, and the most considerable amongst the Citizens, and consulted together about the properest means of appeasing the Tumult, lest it should break out in an open Sedition. After some Debates, they agreed that the Reformed should have the free Exercise of their Religion in the Suburbs, according to the Edict: and that the Capitouls should be present in their Church with a Guard of one hundred Men, armed with all sorts of Arms, Arquebusses and Pistols only excepted; and for the good Behaviour of these Men, the Reformed should enter caution. That the Catholics should keep likewise two hundred Men at their own Charge for the City-Guard, and should enter caution for them. That the Priests should be forbidden to ring the Alarm-Bell for exciting the People to take up Arms, and if they did it
and

and were apprehended, they should be burnt alive. That all Soldiers and Vagrants who had neither Domicil or Master in the City, should leave it in twenty-four Hours. That the Capitouls together with the Seneschal, should judge without appeal of all manner of Sedition. That the Citizens ward by ward should guard the City-Gates.

Charles
IX.
1563.
Pope Pius
IV.

These Articles were wisely agreed upon, and published in all the Streets, but without effect. For the Priests filled up the Churches and Cloisters with Arms and Soldiers, the Catholick Citizens, some Presidents and Counsellors of the Parliament, caus'd Gun-powder and other Ammunitions to be brought into the City. On the other hand, the Reformed seeing all these military Preparations, and frightned by the Massacre lately perpetrated at Cahors, and by the Insurrection of the Catholicks against them at Castelnau d'Ar-ry, thought proper to put themselves in a posture of Defence; but the Catholicks fearing lest the Reformed being once Masters of the City, they would not spare their old superstitious Stocks, were grown very audacious against them, encouraged to it by the Example of other Cities, especially those two just mentioned. But it happened, that the Reformed thro' the Imprudence and Over-hastiness of some amongst them, especially of Barelles one of their Ministers, hurried themselves along to the greatest Calamities (s).

A few days before, Peter Hunault Lord of Lanta, one of the Capitouls, coming from Court, had had a Conference with the Prince at Orleans, to whom he had promised to deliver the City, (at least he was charged with the fact, by Letters sent to Montluc at *Faudouas*, from Monf. La

(s) Thuan. lib. xxxii. p. 171. Beza ibid.

Charles
IX.
1563.
Pope Pius
IV.

La Roque des Arts) Montluc understanding this, sent these Letters by an exprefs to Masencal, first President of Thoulouse, with one of his own, whereby he let him know what Orders he had given for the relief of the City, and what they were to do for receiving that relief, and for enabling themselves to withstand their Enemies.

The President thought proper to read these Letters in full Parliament, the Contents whereof having been examined, they decreed to arrest the said Lord of Lanta, who retired into a Country-House (*t*).

Now the Reformed having published on the 10th of May a Sacrament-Day for the next Sunday, and Barelles having preached a seditious Sermon, the next day three of the Capitouls were sent for by the Parliament, and ordered to receive in the Town-House four Companies of Foot; furthermore, to cause all the Foreigners of the Reformed Religion to avoid the City, and to inhibit the Celebration of the Lord's Supper (*v*).

These things being come to the notice of the Reformed, they met to consult together upon their present Circumstances; but the Opinions were divided, the wisest were for remaining still and quiet, but others, not considering the Consequences, were for making use of violent means, so they parted without taking unanimously any Resolution. But after Supper, Barelles a courageous and zealous Man, but very inconsiderate and hot-headed, and who was not always directed in his Doings by the Spirit of God (*u*), persuaded those of his Faction, to seize upon the Town-House that very Night, because their Adversaries were to take possession of it next Morning.

(*t*) Memoir. de Montluc. liv. v. p. 368. Thuan. *ibid*.

(*v*) Thuan. *ibid*. Beze liv. x. p. 11.

(*u*) Beze *ibid*. p. 11, 12.

Morning. Therefore Captain Saux having took upon him the Execution of that Enterprize, went thither with several Soldiers Gascoons well armed, and without any Noise, he knock'd at the Door, which was opened by the Capitouls, and entered with his Men and took possession of the same, wherein they found a vast Quantity of Arms and several Cannons; he seized likewise upon three Colleges in the Neighbourhood, without any shedding of Blood; then he caused several Tons full of Earth to be laid down cross the adjacent Streets (x).

Charles
IX.
1563.
Pope Pius
IV.

The Parliament exasperated at this Audaciousness, sent notice of it to Montluc, and to all the Nobility of the Country, intreating them to send with all speed what Troops they could afford; that the Town-house and other strong Places in the City had been seized upon by the Huguenots; that they intended to proclaim the Prince of Condé King of France; and to murder all the Catholicks, even Children of seven Years old; that it was full time to oppose their Perfidiousness, and their barbarous Cruelty. They wrote likewise to the neighbouring Towns, and incited the Peasants of the adjacent Country, bidding them, in the King's Name, to rise in Arms and fall upon all the Reformed they could meet with, and kill them, then come to Toulouse to have their Share of the Spoils. The Presidents and Counsellors of the Parliament habited in their Scarlet Gowns, with their Arms over, were a running thro' the Streets like mad Men, proclaiming by a Trumpet, that they deemed the Huguenots to be Enemies to God and Traitors to the King; therefore it was allowed to every one to treat them as such; ordering the Catholicks to wear a white Cross over

(x) Id. Ibid. Dinoth. lib. 2. p. 174.

Charles
IX.
1563.
Pope Pius
IV.

ver their Coats, that they might be distinguish'd from the others, and to put the same Mark upon the Posts of their Doors, without which their Houses might be exposed to Plunder. Mean while the Reformed, who had seized upon the Town-house, stirred not for all these awful Proclamations, endeavouring to appease the Tumult, and to come to an Agreement with their Enemies upon some reasonable Terms, by the Capitoul's Means; but no such thing could be done, those of the Parliament, who desired no better than to see the utter Destruction of the Reformed, opposing all ways and means of a Reconciliation.

Now whereas they had proclaimed in the Streets, That whoever should kill the Huguenots, or plunder their Houses, should not be accountable for it, seeing the Pope, the King and the Parliament approved of it: Upon such an Encouragement, the furious Mob rushed into the Houses of the Reformed, or those whom they suspected to countenance them, and plundered them; they fell upon them and murdered, drowned, or otherwise put to death, a great number; and it was deemed a Piece of Clemency in them, when they were satisfy'd with casting them into dark Dungeons loaded with Irons, after they had been unmercifully beaten.

Those of the Reformed who were in Arms, seeing that there was no Hopes left of coming to an Agreement, raised in haste some Works in nine different Places of the City, for the Guard of the Streets, whereby the Enemy could pass to come to the Town-house. On the other hand, the Catholicks fortified the Towers of the Churches, and the loftiest Houses of the Citizens; and whereas they had the greatest Number of
Troops,

Charles
IX.
1563.
Pope Pius
IV.

Troops, and several Captains of Note to command them, (they were no less than eight thousand, reckoning the Auxiliaries sent by Montluc :) they assaulted frequently the Reformed at those Places wherein they had fortified themselves, but they were always worsted. This Conflict lasted for four Days, the Reformed never giving place, tho' they were far inferior in Number to their Enemies. But when they heard of Montluc's coming with more Troops, as they were in great want of Gun-powder and other Ammunitions, and that they expected no Assistance, having accepted of the Terms proposed to them by their Enemies, they resolved to depart the City ; accordingly, having left the Arms they had found in the Town-house, most part of them went out upon a Sunday, the 17th of May, being Whitsuntide, after having received the Sacrament. But many were slain upon the Roads by the Peasants, and the Gentry who guarded the Passages, and their Corps left to be devoured by Wolves and Dogs ; those who could escape were received at Montauban, Castres, Lavaur, and Puy-Laurens. It is reckon'd by Beza and Dinoth, that four thousand of both sides lost their Lives in the several Skirmishes during these four Days, tho' Thuanus reckons but three thousand, besides above 200 Houses burnt to the ground.

Montluc came into the City the next day, attended by about two hundred Gentlemen besides his Company. At his Arrival he caused the Church built by the Reformed, to be pulled down and burnt ; then he had the Diversion of seeing several Heads cut off the next Day. It is he himself who says so, *Early in the Morning*, says he, Folio 372, of his Memoirs, it was the 18th of May, *before break of Day, as we began*

our

Charles

IX.

1563.

Pope Pius

IV.



our March, Mr. Durdes one of the Capitouls of Thoulouse arrived with a Letter from Monsieur Le President, and Monsieur de Bellegarde, notifying to us the Departure and Flight of the Enemies, whereat I was very sorry; for had they waited for me, not one of those Dastards would have escaped, and God knows whether I had not a good mind to make a Riddance of them; and whether I would have spared any of them. Then Folio 373, the very next Day, says he, they began to do Justice, and I never saw in my Life so many Heads struck off as I saw there. We shall see presently the particular Character of that Man; we must make an end of the sad Catastrophe of the Reformed of Thoulouse.

The Parliament seized immediately upon the Town-House, from whence they sent to Prison many who had taken Refuge in it, and even one of the Capitouls, named Mandinelli, who had had no hand at all in the last Insurrection; they tore in pieces and burnt the Records wherein they found registered the Protest of the Capitouls against what the Parliament had undertaken and executed of late in defiance of their Privileges; and they sent Prisoners the Register and Publick Notary, who had entered them in the Books. Then they proceeded to give Judgment against the Prisoners, four hundred of whom were publicly executed under the Pretence of the late Tumult, tho' it was evident that many of them had no hand at all in it; as Mandinelli, who was beheaded after having been tortured; the Register and the Publick Notary, who had done nothing but obey their Superiors Orders; two young Boys, the one of thirteen and the other of fifteen Years old were hang'd, only because they would not forsake their Religion; Monsieur Terond, Attorney,

ney, guilty of nothing else but of having given fifty Crowns for the use of the Poor, was beheaded. The Sentence being very extraordinary in it self, and setting forth in their full Light the Wickedness and Violence of the Parliament, I shall insert it here :

Charles
IX.
1563.
Pope Pius
IV.

Monsieur Terond, (says the Counsellor who read it,) The Court, after the hearing of your Cause, do not find you in any wise GUILTY: Nevertheless, AS THE SAID COURT IS VERY WELL INFORMED OF THE INWARD DISPOSITION OF YOUR CONSCIENCE; AND THAT YOU WOULD HAVE BEEN VERY GLAD, HAD THOSE OF YOUR WRETCHED AND REPROBATE SECT GOT THE UPPER HAND (and also that you have always countenanced them) the said Court condemns you to be beheaded, and your Goods and Estates to be forfeited without any Distraction.

Captain Saux and another were quartered alive, several either Counsellors or Advocates, or Notaries, Printers and Booksellers, were beheaded or hanged. Twenty two Counsellors were expelled out of the Parliament by their Colleagues; the seven other Capitouls having been summoned at three different times by the publick Crier, to appear and take their Trial, were outlawed and hanged in Effigy in the publick Place of St. George, their Goods forfeited to the King, deducting one hundred thousand Livres for the Damages and Interests of the City. Besides that it was ordered, that a Marble Table should be set up in the Town-House, whereon their Names should be engraved; that their Children should be degraded, and declared incapable of bearing any Title of Nobility,

Charles
IX.
1563.
Pope Pius
IV.

bility, or of exercising any publick Office ; and that the said Decree should be publickly read yearly, upon the same Day, the 29th of July.

Besides those publickly executed, many died in the Prisons by the cruel Tortures they had undergone, and in great Miseries and Wants, and several died of the Plague; and near four hundred others were outlawed, not only of the Inhabitants, but likewise several Lords and Gentlemen who had their Estates in the Jurisdiction of the Parliament.

And whereas the War was made in several Places by the Direction and under the Authority of the said Parliament, which could not be done without great Charge and Expence, in order to raise the necessary Sums for that purpose, they published on the 21st of August, a very cruel and bloody Edict against the Reformed, and those who countenanced them, which occasioned so many Plunders and cruel Murders in so many Places of their Jurisdiction.

But on the other hand, it occasioned likewise the Complaints brought before the King and his Council, by many of those who had fled from the City, and had been outlawed ; and to whom the King was graciously pleased to grant Letters of Discharge and Abolition, which being so full of their own Innocence, and of the Wickedness and Malice of their Enemies, I shall insert them here, word for word.

„ CHARLES, by the Grace of God,
„ King of France, unto all present and
„ to come, GREETING. Whereas in Confide-
„ ration of the Januarian Edict by Us publish-
„ ed for appeasing the Troubles and Commo-
„ tions happened in OUR Kingdom, some of
„ OUR Subjects, Inhabitants of OUR City of
„ Thou-

Charles
IX.
1563.
Pope Pius
IV.

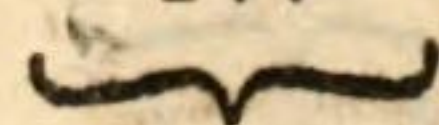
„ Thoulouse, who had followed the New Re-
 „ ligion, because they had been given to un-
 „ derstand that it was the only way to Salva-
 „ tion, have readily obeyed the said Edict,
 „ and made their Assemblies without the City,
 „ desiring no better than to serve GOD and
 „ Us with all Modesty; and for the Exercise
 „ of the said Religion they had sent for more
 „ Ministers than they had before, whom they
 „ have fed and entertained in their own Houses,
 „ being present in their Church for making or
 „ hearing of Sermons, Exhortations, Prayers,
 „ and other Devotions in use among them,
 „ and even for administering and receiving the
 „ Holy Supper; and some of them have ac-
 „ cepted of Offices in their Church, such as they
 „ call Deacons, Overseers and others, and had
 „ met in their Councils, Synods and Consisto-
 „ ries in the said City, and in other adjacent
 „ Places; behaving themselves always peaceably
 „ and without Tumult; till having understood
 „ that those of the ancient Religion had com-
 „ mitted several Outrages, Violences and Mur-
 „ ders in the neighbouring Towns and Places,
 „ against those of the same Profession as they;
 „ and that the said Catholicks prepared them-
 „ selves to use them as others had been used in
 „ other Places, they took Refuge under our
 „ Officers Protection (*the Capitouls who lodged*
 „ *in the Town-house*) who, for obviating the said
 „ Enterprizes, gave them leave to raise and keep
 „ some Forces for their own Defence, which
 „ they did. Notwithstanding which, they were
 „ assaulted, and some of them slain in the
 „ Month of April by those of the ancient Reli-
 „ gion, with whom they came afterwards to
 „ an Agreement, and promised to lay down
 „ their Arms and to live according to the E-

Charles
IX.

1563.

Pope Pius

IV.



„ dict, which was not observed by those of the an-
 „ cient Religion ; for they sent for and introduced
 „ in secret, into the City, a great number of foreign
 „ Soldiers, which they quartered in the Churches
 „ and other Houses of the City, waiting for
 „ an Opportunity of doing what they have done
 „ afterwards : During which Time, those of
 „ the new Religion, being in fear lest they
 „ should undertake something against them ;
 „ and besides that, being told that WE and OUR
 „ most honoured Lady and Mother were de-
 „ tained in Captivity ; and that many of OUR
 „ Subjects had armed, and seized upon some of
 „ OUR chief Cities in OUR Kingdom for OUR
 „ Deliverance, they assessed themselves, and
 „ contributed willingly and chearfully towards
 „ the Charge of the War which was kindled;
 „ thinking it was for OUR Service, and for
 „ paying their Allegiance to Us, and so they
 „ did ; and withal restrained themselves, till
 „ seeing every day that those of the ancient
 „ Religion strengthened themselves with Arms
 „ and Soldiers, they sent likewise for a cer-
 „ tain number of Soldiers in their own Defence.
 „ Nevertheless since that time, some of them,
 „ either out of Fright, or because they knew
 „ not what to do for their own Defence, had
 „ seized in the Night-time upon the Town-
 „ house of Thoulouse, wherein the Arms and
 „ Ammunitions of the said City were kept,
 „ and some other Houses adjacent to this,
 „ which they had seized likewise, and fortified
 „ themselves in them, so far that for whatever
 „ Threatnings or Commands from OUR Of-
 „ ficers and others of the Court of Parliament,
 „ they refused to lay down their Arms, till
 „ those of the ancient Religion had done the
 „ same, and would observe the Edict ; till WE
 „ being

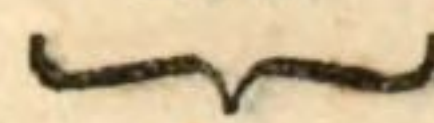
„ being certified of every thing, should have
 „ given proper Orders. But instead of com- Charles
 „ plying with these Terms, those of the ancient IX.
 „ Religion fell a ringing the Alarm Bells, not 1563.
 „ only in the said City, but even in the Villa- Pope Pius
 „ ges seven or eight Leagues round about it, IV.
 „ and had assembled the People in Arms, and
 „ fell indifferently upon those they thought pro-
 „ per, charging them with being of the said
 „ new Religion, who on their side had put
 „ themselves in a Posture of Defence; and in
 „ the Conflict many of both Sides had been
 „ killed and outraged, and several Houses burnt;
 „ which Sedition lasted for several Days toge-
 „ ther, during which those of the said new
 „ Religion were gone from the Town-House
 „ to some Churches and Convents, from whence
 „ they had expelled the Priests and Monks,
 „ broken the Images, Crosses and Altars, taken
 „ the Shrines, Jewels and Ornaments, and car-
 „ ried them into the said Town-House where-
 „ in they retired, and in the adjacent parts,
 „ fighting Day and Night, till seeing the Obsti-
 „ nacy and Fury of the People, whom they
 „ might have hurt a great deal more, either
 „ with the Artillery whereof they were in pos-
 „ session, or by some other means; for avoid-
 „ ing a greater Evil, Desolation and Ruin of
 „ the said City, they chose to depart it, some
 „ of them being armed with Corsets and
 „ Spears they had taken in the Town-House;
 „ without carrying away any of the Reliques
 „ and Jewels: But were furiously pursued,
 „ and many of them, Men, Women and Chil-
 „ dren cut to pieces, drowned, murdered and
 „ massacred in the said City, as well as in the
 „ Fields, Country Towns and Villages; others
 „ in great numbers have been taken Prisoners,

Charles IX. 1563. Pope Pius IV.
 „ against whom OUR said Court of Parliament and
 „ other Officers have proceeded in such a man-
 „ ner, that they have condemned and put to
 „ death about 200 of them, and they detain
 „ 300 and more still Prisoners; and others
 „ who have fled in much greater Numbers, for
 „ fear of the Rigour of OUR said Officers, or
 „ for the Fury of the Rabble, are miserably
 „ wandring in the Country, in the greatest Po-
 „ verty and Calamity; in so much, that were
 „ it not for the Trust they put in OUR Clemen-
 „ cy, they would chuse rather to die than to
 „ live exil'd from their own Country and Estates,
 „ beseeching and most humbly requiring that
 „ (considering that whatever they have done
 „ it was only out of Zeal to the said new Re-
 „ ligion, and for the Quietness of their own
 „ Conscience, having been brought up and
 „ taught in that Way by their Ministers; and
 „ that they never had a Mind or Will of with-
 „ drawing themselves from the Fealty, Subjecti-
 „ on and Obedience they owe unto Us, where-
 „ in they desire to live and die) WE would
 „ be pleased to shew Mercy and Compassion
 „ upon them, and upon the Widows and Or-
 „ phans of the deceased, and to impart unto
 „ them OUR Grace, Pardon and Mercy. We
 „ do notify hereby, that WE desiring to govern
 „ OUR Subjects with all Meekness and Bounty,
 „ for these Causes and others moving Us, with
 „ the Advice of OUR most honoured Lady
 „ and Mother, and those of OUR Privy Coun-
 „ Council, WE have remitted and forgiven,
 „ and do remit and forgive to the Petitioners
 „ all the Cases above mentioned, &c. WE do
 „ absolve and discharge them, making void all
 „ Defects, Sentences, Judgments and Decrees
 „ given against them, in what Form soever:
 „ And

„ And WE do restore them to their good Name Charles
 „ and Fame, in their own Country and Towns, IX.
 „ and to their own Goods and Estates, as if ^{1563.}
 „ they had not been forfeited. And wherever *Pope Pius*
 „ the said Petitioners should be detained Pri- IV.
 „ soners for the abovesaid Causes, WE do
 „ command, and it is our Pleasure that they
 „ should be immediately released, and restored
 „ to their Goods and Estates. Whereupon
 „ WE do command a perpetual Silence to OUR
 „ Attorney General present and to come, &c.
 „ &c. Provided they should live hereafter ac-
 „ cording to the Constitutions of Our Holy
 „ Mother the Church; and that they should
 „ not bear Arms or countenance directly or in-
 „ directly those who shall take them up against
 „ Our Authority and Will, &c. &c. &c. Given
 „ at Romiville, in October 1562. Of Our
 „ Reign the Second.

Now the Suggestion of this Declaration shows evidently that those who petitioned for Grace and Pardon, ought rather to have petitioned for Justice, seeing that they had been assaulted first and received so many Provocations, before they thought upon a Defence, but the Juncture of the Times did not allow them to do otherwise.

However these Letters of Abolition being arrived at Thoulouse, no Serjeant or Notary, or any other Officer could be found that dared present them to the Parliament; a poor Woman, whose Husband was detained Prisoner, was bold enough for that; but far from paying any Regard to the King's Letters, the Parliament, on the 27th of October, having deprived the Petitioners of their expected Effect, condemned to death two famous Attorneys, viz. Tabart and

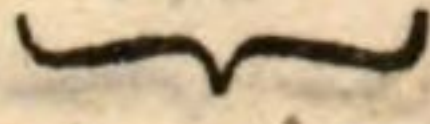
Charles IX. 1563. Pope Pius IV.  Gayrat, and they were beheaded. That Disobedience and Rebellion being reported to the King, other Letters were sent in all haste, dated the 9th of November, whereby setting forth his Indignation against their undutiful Behaviour and unjust Proceedings, he charged them expressly to obey his Commands, and execute the Orders he had sent them by his former, or else he should call them to an Account, and make an Example of them. These Letters were presented to the Parliament by a young Boy whose Father lay dangerously sick in Goal ; but they took no further Notice of them, than to resolve to send two Deputies to the King, as they were bid, for better informing his Majesty ; and mean while they continued their Enormities.

The Counsellors who had been deprived of their Office by their Brethren, had obtained of the King Letters of Restoration, which had been presented to the Parliament on the 22d of October, but they were read and registered only on St. Martin's Day.

In a word, the City was all in Confusion ; nothing was to be seen in it but Violences and Extortions ; whereof the King having notice, he sent the following Letters to the Seneschal and Judges in ordinary of the Seneschalship on the 24th of December.

*King Charles's
Apology for
the Reformation.*

CHARLES, by the Grace of God, King of France, to OUR well-beloved, and trusty the Seneschal of Thoulouse, OUR Judges in Ordinary, or their Lieutenants, each of them in his private Name, and as it shall belong to him, Greeting and Dilection. At OUR Accession to the Crown, several Troubles and Disputes were moved amongst OUR Subjects, even upon Matters of Religion, which WE have been willing to remedy,

, dy, and be resolved upon with the Princes Charles
 , of OUR Blood, the chief Officers of OUR IX.
 , Kingdom, and other Persons conspicuous for 1562.
 , their Probity and Learning; whereupon WE Pope Pius
 , published Our Edict of January last, for to be IV.
 , inviolably kept and observed. Nevertheless, 
 , instead of so doing, and paying the Obedience
 , due unto Us, some Enemies of the publick
 , Peace, ambitious Men, dissatisfy'd with the
 , said Edict, have plotted and committed seve-
 , ral Murders and Cruelties against those of the
 , new Religion, (THIS AND WHAT FOLLOWS,
 DESERVES TO BE WRITTEN IN GOLDEN LET-
 TERS, HERE KING CHARLES BECOMES OUR
 APOLOGIST, OH! HAD HE HAD ALWAYS
 THE SAME MIND!) , infomuch, that for want
 , of Justice done to them, they have occasioned
 , a greater Sedition and greater Murders in OUR
 , City of Thoulouse, bandying themselves and
 , arming one against another, having forsaken
 , OUR Help and Assistance, and remembering so
 , little the Duties of Neighbours and Country-
 , men, that they have murdered and killed one
 , another as if they were Enemies, and have
 , created to Us a Civil War, in our said King-
 , dom; and not satisfied with that, they have
 , plundered, robbed and pillaged those of the
 , said new Religion: and for the Execution of
 , their Malice, the Consuls and Jurates of the
 , Towns and Villages of OUR said Seneschal-
 , ship, having a Criminal Jurisdiction, have
 , made themselves Party and Judges in the
 , Causes of those of the new Religion, and have
 , bribed false Witnesses against them; they have
 , levied Money, elected Syndics, and made all
 , manner of Pursuits and Proceedings, without
 , any Regard for OUR said Edict. Further-
 , more, they have condemned and put to death

Charles IX. 1563. Pope Pius IV. , most part of them ; and the Clergy as well as
 , the Nobility, have armed themselves with the
 , Rabble without OUR Command, they have
 , mustered their Troops, inducing and inciting
 , them to a Sedition, treading OUR Subjects under
 , their Feet, tho' they were no ways the Cause
 , or Occasion of their private Passions and Quar-
 , rels, and Night and Day ransacking, robbing
 , and plundering their Moveables, Cattle, and
 , destroying their Houses and Habitations ;
 , and all that under Pretence that they were
 , Huguenots who had bore Arms ; they have
 , forced their Wives and Daughters, killed and
 , murdered their sucking Babes and Children,
 , and pretending to be Captains, and chief of
 , Arms and Justice, they have extorted and ex-
 , acted Money from the People, they have gi-
 , ven cruel and intolerable Sentences and Judg-
 , ments, subverting thereby OUR State and
 , Kingdom, and abusing of their Authority :
 , Of these Inhumanities, Cruelties and other e-
 , normous Deeds, we are fully resolved to take
 , such a Vengeance, that it shall be an Example
 , to Posterity, and will be remembered in the
 , Ages to come. Therefore, to the end that
 , OUR Subjects may live in Peace and not be
 , oppressed, WE are resolved to send into every
 , chief City of OUR Kingdom some impartial
 , Judges, not suspected of countenancing such
 , Enormities, for to proceed against them accor-
 , ding to OUR Intention.

, For that Cause, and for the greater Expedi-
 , tion, and the speedier Restitution to whom so-
 , ever it shall belong, WE do command you
 , and every one of you in his own Jurisdiction,
 , Ressort and Extent of the said Seneschal-
 , ship, do charge and expressly injoin you by
 , these Presents, that, under the Penalty of
 , forfeiting your Offices, and of being an-
 , swerable

, fwerable in your own Persons, as Abettors of Charles
 , these Enormities, as soon as you shall have re- IX.
 , ceived these Presents, to cause them to be pro- 1563.
 , claimed in the usual Form and Manner, and to Pope Pius
 , let know the Grief and Sorrow WE do feel for IV.
 , what hath happened, and that those Crimes
 , must cease, that the Wrath of God might be
 , appeased; and further, that you do receive all
 , the Complaints publick or private, and make
 , all proper Enquiries and Informations of the
 , matter, without sparing, dissembling, exempt-
 , ing, excepting no body of OUR Subjects, of
 , what Quality or Dignity soever, who are guilty
 , of such Deeds; and to send these Informations
 , to OUR Privy-Council, that having been exa-
 , mined, they may be put into the hands of
 , OUR abovesaid Judges, that shall inflict Punish-
 , ment according to the Demerits: and if you
 , find that the Guilty are not settled or solvable,
 , you shall arrest them and proceed against them,
 , even to the giving Sentence of Death against
 , them, according to their Guilt, and to execute
 , it notwithstanding all Opposition or Appeal,
 , whereby WE will not have you to delay in any
 , wise; which Sentences and Judgments of your
 , own, given by the Advice and Deliberation of
 , seven of OUR Counsellors or Advocates be-
 , longing to your Courts, WE do authorise and
 , ratify by these Presents, by the Advice of
 , OUR Privy-Council, &c. &c. And WE do
 , forbid OUR Court of Parliament to take any
 , cognizance of such Causes, &c. &c. Given
 , at Paris, the 24th day of December 1562, and
 , of OUR Reign the third, the King being pre-
 , sent in his Council (y).

DE L'AUBESPINE.

What

(y) See these two Letters in their full length in Beza, liv.
 x. and they have been abridged by Thuan. lib. xxxii. p.
 173, 174, 175.

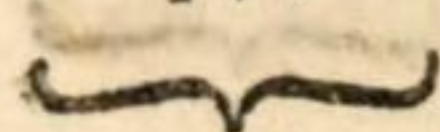
Charles

IX.

1563.

Pope Pius

IV.



What stronger Argument could be desired for evincing the Misdeameanors of the Parliament, than these Letters? What stronger Argument could be desired for evincing the Innocence of the Reformed, even when they took up Arms in this first Civil War, since the King himself, that is, his Council did acknowledge, that they did it only in their own just Defence, they bore witness to them, that they have been quiet and peaceable, standing exactly to the Terms of the Edict, till they have been forced against their own Will, and by the repeated Violences of their Enemies, to put themselves in a posture of Defence. And could our Apologists antient or modern, have better defended our Cause than King Charles had done? When? Four days after the Battle of Dreux, when the Court Party, or rather the Guisians thought, that the entire Destruction of the Reformed was unavoidable. Let then the Maimbourgians, and all their Tribe, bark as much as they please against the Reformed of those days; the unquestionable Testimony of Charles IX. on this occasion, is more than sufficient to wipe off all the Crimes laid calumniously to their charge.

That Mandamus frightened those whom it concerned; the People whom they had strangely abused for destroying them one by another, began to murmur against them. But instead of mending their way, and altering their course, they went on in gratifying their Passions, and being afraid of the People, undertook to inclose the Parliament-house with a Wall. But they had no sooner begun, than a Rumour was spread in the City, that the Parliament were fortifying themselves against the City; whereupon the People rose up, headed by three of the Capitouls, (tho' they were all of the Parliament's choice) and ran on the 19th of January 1563 to the Parliament-House, and demolished the Work that was be-

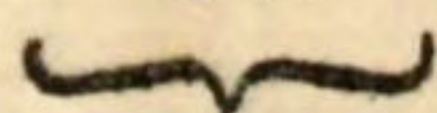
Charles
IX
1563
Pope Pius
IV.

gun. Nevertheless, the Court ordered the Wall should be made again, which being understood by the People, they tumultuously assembled again on the 20th of the same Month, being Fast Day, and with a greater Fury than before, assaulted, plundered and pulled down the King's House, where the *Viguier* used to reside, occasioned by one of the Militia-Officers, a Tavern-Keeper, who being come into that House, wherein the Architect and several Workmen lodged, drew maliciously a Bone of Mutton out of his Pocket, and cryed to the Mob, *See these wicked Huguenots who eat Flesh on this day*; whereupon they broke open the door, and the Architect narrowly escaped with his life, and an excellent Workman was murdered in the Streets. The next day, the Parliament caused a Proclamation to be read, forbidding all such tumultuous Assemblies on pain of Death. But the People scorned such a Prohibition.

On the 15th of February, the City was put upon the brink of its utter ruin by another Sedition, occasioned by some Letters sent by NOSTRADAMUS, the famous Astrologer, to some of his Acquaintance at Thoulouse, whereby he gave them warning to stand upon their guard, because the City was in danger of being taken that day. Whereupon the Guard was reinforced in the City, and the common People seeing themselves armed by the Authority of the Parliament, caused such a great Tumult that very night, that the City was very near to be ran sack'd.

Besides all these Evils, the Cardinal of Armagnac the King's Lieutenant of the Province, and of the Seneschalship of Thoulouse, and Archbishop of that City, with Cardinal Strossy, Montluc, Terrides, Negrepelisse and Fourquevaux, signed a League on the second of March 1563, (which was

Charles
IX
1563.
Pope Pius
IV.



was communicated afterwards to Mons. de Joyeuse another Deputy Governor of Languedoc,) between the Nobility, Clergy and the Commons of Guienne and Languedoc, whereby they engaged themselves upon their Oath, to raise Troops and entertain them at their own Charge, and keep them in readiness to fall upon the Reformed and their Abettors, and destroy them.

That League was presented to the Parliament of Thoulouse to be approved, and so it was, tho' by provision only, and without consequence, under the King's good Pleasure, commanding to all the Magistrates and the King's Subjects, to keep and observe it strictly to all its Intents and Purport.

But three days after, viz. the 24th of March, came the News of the Peace already made, for which many were very sorry, some fell sick a-bed of it, others said aloud, that they would not register it, and that they would rather chuse another King. And even there were some who had a mind to address themselves to the King of Spain, that he would be pleased to take the Church of France and the antient Religion of the Kingdom under his royal Protection. But that Scheme was defeated by the threatening Letters which were sent from Court, and the positive Orders they received to publish and register the Edict of Pacification; whereof they read only the Preamble, and published only the Articles the most favourable to the Catholicks, and never observed a tittle of it, but what was to their own Advantage (z).

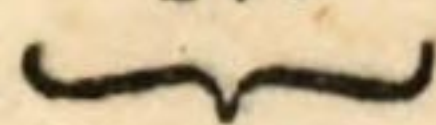
After having related what happened at Thoulouse since the Januarian Edict, and during the first Civil War, we must take a general View of what happened in other parts of Languedoc; and

(z) Beze liv. x.

and whereas Montluc has had so great a share Charles IX. 1563. Pope Pius IV. in all the principal Events in that Province, it is very proper that we should give the true Character of a Man no less, if not more extraordinary and violent in the Catholick Party, than Baron des Adrets was in the Reformed.

Blaise of Montluc, Marshal of France, was *Of Marshal Blaise of Montluc,* born in the Year 1502 or 1503, for we have no certain date of the Year of his Nativity, much less of the Month and Day that I know of; he was sprung out of a noble but decayed Family in Gascony, his Grandfather having sold all his Estate, save only eight hundred or a thousand Livres yearly Rent, as he tells us himself in the second folio of his Memoirs. His Father's name was John of Montluc, and his Mother's Frances of Stillac; he was the eldest of six Brethren; he enter'd Page to Duke Anthony of Lorraine, and being fifteen or sixteen Years old, got a place of Archer in his Company, whereof the famous Bayard was Lieutenant. Soon after he had a mind to go into Italy, incited to it, by the rumour of the great Feats of Arms daily done in that Country; being come into Gascony, and having receiv'd some Money and a Spanish Horse of his Father, he set out for his Journey; he was then seventeen Years old, and met two of his Uncles at Milan, by whose means he got a place of Archer in the Company of the Marshal of Lautrec; he went thro' all the degrees; from a Centinel he was made Ensign, then Lieutenant, then Captain, then Colonel, then Commander of Towns or Strong-Holds, afterwards King's Lieutenant in Tuscany and Guienne, and at last Marshal of France. One may say in truth, that his great Courage, Prudence and Sagacity in the Management of Affairs, were the only means whereby he arrived to that high degree of military Preferments.

Charles
IX.
1563.
Pope Pius
IV.



ments. As to his Morals, he says himself, that he was neither a Gamester nor Drunkard, and that the Charms of a Mistress have never been powerful enough to make him forget his Duty ; but in other respects he was self-conceited to the last degree, as is plainly evinced by his own Memoirs, whereof almost every Page is full of the biggest Encomiums and largest Commendations of himself, as if he had been the only Man in the World. It has been truly said of him, *PLURA FECIT, MULTA SCRIPSIT*, that is, he has done several things and wrote many more, or that he had said of himself more than he had done. By the relation of his own Deportment it appears, that he had been very passionate, and he owns, that he was very cruel in the Civil Wars, having commonly two Executioners that followed him, for putting to death ignominiously those who were so unhappy as to fall into his Hands ; had he followed in the foreign Wars those Maxims he did follow in the civil, not only he would not have been so successful as he was, but he would have acquired no more glorious Title than that of a cruel and fierce Executioner. Charles IX. hinted at him in his last Mandamus to the Seneschal of Thoulouse above-mentioned. I cannot say that he has not been either too credulous in matters relating to the Reformed Opinions about the Respect and Obedience due to Sovereigns and Lords ; or a Calumniator, seeing that he charges them with speaking most opprobriously and traitorously of the King during his Minority, see liv. v. fol. 358, and says further fol. 360. *That the Ministers preached publickly, that if People would turn Reformed, they would not be obliged to pay any Duty, Rent or Service to the Nobility or Gentry, nor even any Tax or Subsidy to the King, but what should be ordered by them. Others preached that*

that Kings had no other power but what is allow'd them by the People. Others, that the Nobility were nothing better than themselves. And indeed, says he, when the Gentlemen's Stewards came to ask the Rent of the Tenants, they were answered, shew us first in the Bible, whether we are obliged to pay them or no, and that if their Fathers had been such Fools, they would not be like them. Sure the Marshal had better studied the Amadis de Gaule, and other such Books, than our Confession of Faith and our Discipline, or the Books of our Divines, and it would have been better for him to consult with his Brother, the learned Bishop of Valence, who certainly would have better informed him of the true and real Sentiments of the Reformed upon these Points. He died aged 75 Years, in 1577; it is near to a Miracle how he could live so long, for tho' he was of a very strong Complexion, he went thro' many great Fatigues and Hardships, he was exposed to many great Dangers, and was wounded in every part of his Body, his right Arm excepted, says he, liv. vii. folio 606; but especially at Rabastens in the Year 1570, where he had his Cheeks pierced thro' and thro' with an Arquebuss Shot, of which Wound he never was well cur'd. Thuanus gives him the Character of a Man as courageous, industrious and successful as any great Captain of his time; and speaking of his Memoirs, he says, that they were published after his death much to the honour of his Family, and that they might be very useful to those who aspire to a Military Glory by the path of Virtue. I shall have an Opportunity hereafter of speaking of his Brother the Bishop of Valence (a).

Charles
IX.
1563.
Pope Pius
IV.

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(a) Add. aux Mem. de Cast. liv. iv. ch. 2. ch. 6. liv. vi. ch. 12. D'Aubigné Tom. I. liv. iii. ch. 17, 18. liv. iv. h. 13. & alibi. Thuan. lib. lxiv.

Charles IX. 1563. Pope Pius IV. *MON-TAUBAN.* The second City whereof we must take notice is *Montauban*. Whereas that City was a place of Refuge for the Exiles of the Reformed Religion, so it was exposed to greater Hardships than all others of the Province, during the first Civil War; for it was besieged three times in less than eleven Months, and the worst was, that it had not only to defend itself against the Enemies without, but also against its own Inhabitants within, being discording amongst themselves, and having brought matters to a Sedition more than once.

It was assaulted by its Enemies with such Fierceness and Obstinacy, that tho' Peace had been proclaimed in other parts of the Kingdom, nevertheless, they continued to besiege it a Month longer. And notwithstanding the violent Attempts of all its Neighbours, it withstood them all with Glory, and came out happily of all the Snares laid for her Destruction: Every one wondering at this, that a City almost without defence, and having almost no other Troops but Militia, could withstand the Efforts of so many potent Enemies.

First Siege. Montluc was the first who besieged it on the 24th of May with a thousand Horse and five thousand Foot. Before the Attack, he sent to the Inhabitants to ask a free Passage thro' the City for himself and for his Troops, or else to propose themselves what terms they would think more just. The Inhabitants answered, that they had never refused to obey the King, neither had they done any thing that could deserve to be besieged in that manner. That if he would be pleased to come into the City with no more than 30 Attendants, he would find the Gates open and be very welcome, but that they could not allow him passage thro' the City with so many Troops.

Having

Having sent back the Trumpet with this Answer, they set fire to the Monasteries of the Franciscan and Dominican Fryars, lest the Enemy should take possession of them. On the next Day, Montluc approached nearer the City, and placed his Artillery ; he had nine Cannons, two large ones, five lesser, and two Culverines. There were also two Skirmishes in different Places that Day, wherein the Montluccians were worsted. The next Day, the 26th, the Besiegers were taken with such a Panick, that having raised the Siege, they fled in great confusion ; the Inhabitants did not think proper to pursue them, suspecting that it was a Device of Montluc to surprize them. Such was the Success of the first Siege, wherein the Enemy lost sixty Men. Montluc says, that they were six or seven Days before the City ; that they fired some Cannons ; he charges Burie with having advised that Enterprize, which he looks upon as a temerary one ; he don't speak of the Panick ; but what he says amounts, at least, to the same (b), and Thuanus contradicts intirely and expressely Montluc, as to the Number of the Besiegers *.

The second Siege was begun on the 14 of September, by Montluc and Burie, with nine Troops of Cuirassiers, and a great number of Nobility and Gentry that came as Volunteers ; besides that, nine Ensigns of Arquebusiers Horse and Foot, three Companies of Spanish Foot, composed of twelve hundred Men, five great Cannons, three great Culverines, and five lesser. At their first Approach there was a Skirmish, wherein the Montluccians were worsted, and the besieged lost twelve Men, several were wound-

VOL. II.

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(b) Mem. de Montluc liv. V. Folio 402. * Thuan. lib. xxxii. p. 176.

Charles
IX.
1563.
Pope Pius
IV.

Charles
IX.
1563.
Pope Pius
IV.

ed on both sides. On the two following Days there were also some Skirmishes, wherein the besieged were always victorious.

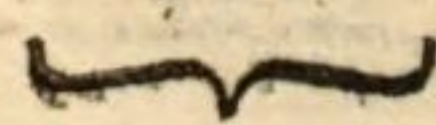
Mean while the Baron of Duras going to Orleans with a great Army, and having took his Way hard by Montauban, sent the Master of his Camp to Montluc, desiring him to appoint a Day and a Place for deciding the Matter by a Battle. But Montluc had no mind to accept of the Challenge at that time, he waited for a better Opportunity, which he met with afterwards, to the great Loss of Duras. When he saw that he could make no Progress before Montauban, he raised the Siege, having lost six hundred Men, and the Besieged thirty. Whereupon Duras continued his March towards Orleans; his coming by Montauban, was rather prejudicial than beneficial to that City; for at his parting, two Companies of Foreigners that had defended it during the Siege, followed him. Besides that, the Captains endeavoured to dishearten and frighten the Inhabitants, setting forth, that if they were besieged a third time, it was impossible to resist, against so potent an Enemy, being themselves so few in number, and without any Hopes of Assistance; that therefore it would be better for them to forsake their City and follow them to Orleans, or to agree with the Enemy for a round Sum of Money, or to receive a Garison of Montluc; nay, Marchastel, one of the Prince's Agents in Languedoc, went so far as to give them abusive Language, calling them OBSTINATES and BLOCKHEADS, that they ran wilfully to their utter Ruin; and they not only caused the two Companies to march out. (*which was very unjust, seeing that they had been raised and were entertained at the City's Charge*) but they carried away likewise from the City two large Cannons,

Cannons, two Field Pieces, and most part of their Ammunition. Charles IX.

However, tho' they were forsaken by Men, God did not forsake them, and their own Courage supplied the want of other means. They took an Oath among themselves to defend and keep the City to the last Drop of their Blood. So being all resolved on a stout Resistance, they elected *Laboria* for their Governor; he made a Review of the Inhabitants, and found six hundred among them able to bear Arms, who promised all upon their Oath to defend and keep their Walls to their last Breath. But the Desertion of one of his Officers named FONTGRAVE, troubled them very much; for being gone into the Enemies Camp, he acquainted the General with the Scarcity of Ammunition that was in the City, and the small number of Inhabitants able to defend their Walls; and that it would be an easy matter to take it, if they would feign only to attack the Walls in several Places at once, and on a sudden storm a Fort lying by the Jacobines Convent. He spoke so, because he knew that the Inhabitants were used to run immediately to the Place where the Alarm was first given. According to Fontgrave's Advice, on the 9th of October, at two o'clock in the Morning, the Enemy attacked the Walls at three different Places, with Ladders, and made a terrible Noise with their Musketry; and when they saw the Inhabitants busied in those Places, a Company well armed approached without Noise, near the Fort of the Jacobines, thinking to surprize the Guard, while the Inhabitants were elsewhere. But the Centinels having discovered them before they were at the foot of the Wall, they gave the Alarm. Nevertheless, tho' they were discovered, they went on, and put the Ladders to the Wall; then

1563.
Pope Pius
IV.

Charles
IX.
1563.
Pope Pius
IV.



with a Battering-Ram they made a Breach in it, and they planted two Colours upon the Curtain, with a great Noise of Drums and Trumpets, as if they had been Masters of the City ; but they were so briskly received by the Inhabitants, that they were forced to retire, having lost two hundred Men, and the Inhabitants only one; they left behind them their Battering-Ram and their Ladders.

3d Siege.

Whereas they could do nothing by Stratagem, they resolved to besiege the City for the third time. Therefore on the very same Day, the 9th of October, TERRIDE approached the City with twenty-one Companies, two great Cannons and seven Culverines ; he made himself Master of the Suburb of St. Anthony, wherein plunder and all manner of Cruelties and Lewdness were put in use ; a Gentlewoman big with Child having resisted a Ruffian, had at last her Belly ripped, and the Child being taken out quick, was cut to pieces.

They battered the Walls furiously with their Artillery, but their Efforts were fruitless, for the Inhabitants of both Sexes, young and old, restored immediately the Breaches, carrying Dung, Fascines, Earth and other things fit for that purpose ; whereby they succeeded so well, that tho' the Enemy had cast above five thousand Iron Bullets, there were but five Men killed by them. As the Besiegers saw that they could not advance by these Ways, they resolved to turn the Siege into a Blockade, and erected several Towers and Forts round about the City, to hinder all manner of Relief from coming into it, in a certain Hope that they should take them by Famine, or that being tired with the length of the Siege, they would chuse to surrender themselves.

Nevertheless, whereas that length of time became tedious to themselves, they endeavoured by proper Persons to bring over to their Party LABORIA Governor of the City, who promised to deliver it into their hands; many of the Soldiers and of the Citizens, even one of their Ministers consented to it, provided they should enjoy the free and publick Profession of the Reformed Religion, which was promised to them. But that Party being opposed by the major part of the Citizens, there arose a great and dangerous Sedition amongst them, and the Governor sent several of them to Goal, especially some of the Soldiers who had called him Traitor, and had threatned to kill him with their Spears. However, as he saw he had not the Majority for him, and that his Party was not the strongest, he deserted the City, and came openly to the Enemies Camp; and a few Days after he led them to the Jacobines Fort in the Night-time, thinking to carry it easily, because before his Desertion he had pulled down a Ravelin adjoining to a Gate, which he had caused to be mured up. But the Inhabitants made such a stout Resistance, that after a Fight which lasted two Hours, they repulsed the Enemy with a great Loss, and without any on their side. There were several other Skirmishes, out of which the Besieged came always victorious. At last, on the 15th of April the Besieged were delivered, on account of the Edict of Peace, which tho' registred and published at Paris and Orleans on the 26th of March, was kept a Secret in the Camp till the abovesaid Day. So this last Siege lasted for six Months and six Days, from the 9th of October to the 15th of April; and it was reckoned, that in the three Sieges the Enemy lost two thousand

Charles IX. Men, and the Besieged not above Sixty Soldiers.

1563.
Pope Pius IV.

It will not be amiss to set down here the Rules whereby they governed themselves at Montauban, especially during the two last Sieges. First, as to the Spoils made upon the Enemy, it was enacted on the 31st of July, That whatever had served to some superstitious Use in the Roman Churches, whereof the Form could not be altered, as Tapestries exhibiting some superstitious Histories or Emblems, or Copes, or other such things, they should be burnt; but as to those things, the Form whereof could be altered, and the matter whereof could be converted to some better use, and likewise all other publick things, lawfully taken from their sworn Enemies, as Tythes and other such things, they should be divided in three Parts; one for the Poor, and the wounded Soldiers; another for the discharging the Expence of the War; and the last for the Officers and Soldiers that had got those Spoils.

As to private things, if it was Corn or Wine, they should be laid in the Publick Magazine, and be divided in two equal parts, one for the City, the other for those who had brought them; not being lawful, however, for them, on pain of Death, to sell or carry any of the Fruits of the Earth out of the City.

It was further forbidden to make any Incurfion in the Villages, or to plunder any private House, tho' they were Catholicks, if they were not in Arms against the Reformed.

Lastly, all unlawful Prizes, and those which had not been made upon open Enemies, should be entirely restored to the Owners.

These Regulations were drawn and sworn unto in the City, but very ill kept. Besides that, during

during the last Siege, the Ministers divided amongst themselves the several Garisons of the City, there to make Prayers and oversee the Behaviour of the Soldiery (c). Charles IX. 1563. Pope Pius IV.

After the Tumult at Thoulouse, the Parliament had sent the Marshal of LA FOY to LIMOUX, a large and wealthy City; which having battered in vain for several Days, at last he was let into it by Treason; there was no Act of Cruelty, Avarice and Licentiousness but what was committed by his Troops against the Inhabitants, without any regard for Religion, sparing neither sacred or prophane; and for completing the Work, there came two Counsellors of Thoulouse, who condemned the absent to death, after having seized upon their Goods (d).

At *Beaucaire*, the Reformed having pulled down the Altars, and torn to pieces the Images, the Catholicks incensed thereat, sent for Assistance from Tarascon, a neighbouring Town; from thence came about sixteen hundred Men, who enter'd into *Beaucaire* in the Night-time, and murdered as many Reformed as they met in their Way: Nevertheless the major part took Sanctuary in the Castle, amongst whom was their Minister, who let down his Son with a Rope by the Castle's Wall, and bid him go to *Monfrain*, and require the Governor to send them some Succour. There was then in that Town two Troops, that came with all speed to *Beaucaire*, and arrived at the very nick of Time, when the Tarasconians were gathering the Spoils, in order to march out of the Place; the Monfrainians fell upon them with such Fury, that they

A a 4

killed

(c) Dinoth. p. 169. — 172. (d) Beza liv. x. Thuan. lib. xxxii.

Charles
IX.
1563.
Pope Pius
IV.

killed above twelve hundred of them, the remnant escaped by Flight. From that time, to the end of the War, the Belcarians enjoyed Peace and Tranquillity.

It was not the same elsewhere, for Des Adrets having crossed the Rhône was come to LATTE, in order to relieve Beaudisner, Governor of the Reformed in Languedoc, who was put in great Straits by Joyeuse. Suze and Sommerive cross'd likewise the River, and encamped on the 16th of September at FOURQUES, two Leagues distant from Arles, their Army was three thousand Foot and four hundred Horse strong, with two Cannons and a Culverine. When Beaudisner understood this, he sent six hundred Horse, and eight hundred Foot, under the Command of Captain Grille to fortify St. Giles against the Efforts of Suze and Sommerive.

*The Rout
of St. Giles*

They took in their way three Prisoners, two whereof having been slain, the last, in order to save his Life, discovered the Condition the Enemy's Camp was in, mistrusting nothing, and lying unawares in the Field; when they perceived the Reformed coming down the Mountain, and marching with their Horse in the Front, which covered the Foot, they thought that it was only the Van of the Army, and that the Battalia led by Des Adrets was following; whereupon they were put into such a Fright, that without thinking upon their Defence, they ran away in Confusion. Bouillarques descrying that, instead of going the streightway to St. Giles, fell upon their Foot that were not able to follow the Horse, and made a terrible Slaughter of them; no less than two thousand of the Enemies were slain or drowned, all their Bag and Baggage, and Cannons, twenty two Pair of Colours, and a Cornet were taken. Grille and Bouil-

Bouillarques lost but two Men, which even were slain by their Companions, because they had forgotten the Watch-word ; this happened on the 27th of September.

Charles
IX
1563
Pope Pius
IV.

The Affairs in those Parts were in an uncertain Condition, some times the Reformed, and sometimes the Catholicks got the better, till the Count of CRUSSOL's coming into the Country. That Lord had been desired by the Reformed to take upon him the Government of Languedoc, which he had declined ; but being intreated by the three States of the Province, at last he accepted of it. Then he put strong Garisons in several Places, that they might be in a Condition of withstanding JOYEUSE, who sided with the Catholicks ; and whereas both Parties were more sollicitous for their own Defence, than for attacking others, there were no great Tumults in those parts during that War.

The Reformed having restored the Churches NIMES to the Catholicks, on the 20th of January 1562, by the Count of Crussol's Command, they held their publick Meetings in the Hospital without the City. About the same time a Provincial Synod of the Churches of Lower Languedoc was held at Nimes, wherein were present seventy Ministers, besides those that were elected. The Januarian Edict arrived in that City on the 11th of February, and was very joyfully received, tho' disadvantageous in some Points. But their Joy was of short Continuance, having received the News of the Vassiacan Massacre, and a little after arrived a Gentleman from the Prince, that came for informing the Churches of Languedoc of the Situation of Affairs, and for requiring their Supply of Men and Money.

On the other hand, the Count of Crussol was no sooner set out for Court, but the Catholicks be-

Charles
IX
1563.
Pope Pius
IV.



began to stir up every where, especially in Provence, as already mentioned; therefore the Reformed of Low-Languedoc, having enough to do to provide for themselves, were not in a Capacity of sending to the Prince all the Succours of Men and Money that they could have wished. However, they granted five thousand Livres for the beginning, and five Companies of Foot, under the Command of five Captains; which Companies were joined by four others coming from Provence, after the taking of Barjols. Affairs remained at Nimes in a State peaceable enough till the Month of May.

It was not the same in several other Places of Languedoc. At *Castelnau d'Arry*, in the *Lauraguet*, the Reformed were assaulted in their Church by the Catholics, and many of them of both Sexes were cruelly murdered, among whom were two Consuls, a Counsellor, the Judge in ordinary, the King's Attorney, a Comptroller, and the Minister, whose Belly they ripped after his Death.

At *Carcassonne*, *Renel*, &c. they were treated by the Catholics with the same Cruelty. But at *Beziers* the Reformed that were in greater number than the Catholics, had not Discretion or Moderation enough to use well their Advantage, but they were outrageous, calling the Catholics *Popish*, *Gregorians*, and other such Names, which was retorted by the Catholics, who called them *Huguenots*, *Lutherans* and *Gregous*; then on the third of May they fell upon the Images and tore them to pieces. Nevertheless I do not find that they were exposed to any great Hardship, only they were obliged to be upon their guard, being threatned two or three times with a Siege. On the 21st of February 1563, the City was upon the point of being taken

taken by Scalado, the Enemies having kept Intelligence with some Priests; but they were repulsed, and all the Priests obliged to depart the City. It is very observable, that in November of the last Year, all the Nuns that were at Beziers abjured the Catholick Religion, and embraced the Reformed; and that of their own Accord and without any Violence at all.

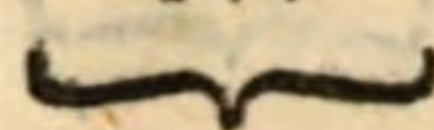
Charles IX.
1563.
Pope Pius IV.

To return to Nimes, the Reformed Inhabitants that were in greater Number than the Catholicks, and were Masters of the City, understanding how hardly their Brethren were used at *Ayguemortes* and several other Places beyond the Rhône, and whereas from every Part they resorted to them for Relief, as being the principal Seat of the Seneschalship, they levied Troops, Horse and Foot; whereupon the Priests departed the City of their own accord, without being molested in any ways; and the Citizens elected unanimously six Persons amongst the Magistrates and the Burghers, to be joined to the Consuls, with full Power to do whatever they should think requisite at any Emergency for the publick Good and Welfare.

On the 27th of May the Lord Beaudisner, youngest Brother to the Count of Crussol, was elected Chief and Protector of the Churches of Languedoc, under the King and the Prince's Authority; which Election was afterwards approved and ratified by all the Nobility, and generally by all the Reformed Party in those Parts *.

At Montpelier the number of the Reformed *Montpelier* was increased to such a degree, notwithstanding all the Opposition of the Bishop and the Canons, that in the Month of October, 1561, upon the same Day that the Count of Villars was inter'd in

* Beze liv. x. Thuan. liv. xxxi.

Charles
IX.1563.
Pope Pius
IV.

in the City the Year before for destroying the Reformed Church there; Montpelier was intirely cleansed from all Objects of Superstition, the Monks having departed the City of their own accord, carrying off whatever was dearest to them, without any Hindrance; which happened by the Fault of the Canons and Monks, having plotted against the City, and armed themselves in order to destroy the Reformed therein; and refused not only to obey the Magistrates Orders, but even to hearken to any Terms of Agreement, and abused in a shameful manner the Deputies that had been sent to them on that account, without any Regard to their Character: whereupon the Reformed, in concert with the most sober among the Catholicks, seeing themselves obliged to repel Force by Force, attacked them so briskly, that some of the seditious having been slain, the Reformed remained Masters of the City.

An Account of all these Transactions having been sent to the King by the Consuls and Magistrates of the City, his Majesty answered very graciously and favourably for the Reformed; but he enjoined withal, all the Inhabitants to bring their Arms into the Consular-house, and the Reformed were to restore all the Churches with the Relicks, &c. to their Owners; these Letters were of the 15th of November, where-to the Reformed submitted themselves. But on the 22d of the same Month, the Clergy of their own accord came to an Agreement with the Reformed, whereby they parted the Churches amongst themselves; and these last had three allowed for their own Use, viz. that of La Loge, of St. Matthew, and of St. Paul, the Deed of that Cession was drawn in due Form by a publick Notary on the 14th of December.

The

The Count of Crussol being arrived at *Ville-neufve d'Avignon*, wrote to Montpelier ordering them to send him two Counsellors of the Presidial, two Consuls, and two Burgeesses of the Roman Religion, and a Minister with an Elder of the Reformed, that he might notify to them the King's Will and Pleasure. These Orders being obeyed, the said Count told the Deputies, that his Majesty commanded the Reformed Inhabitants to restore immediately the Churches and every thing belonging thereto, to their Owners, and not to disturb them in the full Enjoyment of all their Rights and Privileges.

Charles IX.
1563.
Pope Pius IV.

PETER VIRET, one of the most renowned Ministers in those Days, who was then arrived in those Parts, wrote likewise to the same Purport to the Church of Montpelier; and because his Letter is a plain Argument of the true Opinion the sober Men among the Reformed entertained about the breaking of Images and other Violences committed by more rash and inconsiderate People of that Party, I shall insert it here at large. The Superscription runs thus;

TO MY GOOD LORDS AND HONoured BRE-
THREN OF THE CHURCHES OF LANGUE-
DOC, ASSEMBLED TOGETHER IN THE COL-
LOQUE AT MONTPELIER, GRACE AND PEACE
BY OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST.

Viret's
Letter
to the
Church of
Montpe-
lier.

DEAR AND HONoured BRE-
THREN,

THE Gentlemen Commissaries deputed to my Lord of Crussol by the Colloque of Montpelier have communicated to me what Answer they had received, which is such as I expected. Since then it is decreed for the present, that we must restore the Churches,
and

Charles
IX.

1563.

Pope Pius
IV.

, and lay down Arms, we cannot contravene
 , without first disobeying God, and being
 , held for a mutinous, seditious and rebellious
 , People, without greatly provoking the King
 , and his Council, and obliging the said Count
 , of Crussol the King's Lieutenant, for that
 , Purpose, to use Rigour and main Force against
 , us ; whereas they have an Inclination of fa-
 , vouring and protecting us against our Adver-
 , saries, for nothing material but only accessory
 , is now in question ; since we are not forbid
 , to assemble, and to perform whatever belongs
 , to the true Divine Service in our Assemblies,
 , but only to seize upon the Churches ; and
 , even upon such a Condition that we are pro-
 , mised that we shall have convenient Places
 , allowed to us for meeting together ; and that
 , by the King's Authority, which must be well
 , observed, for till now, our Assemblies have
 , not been authorized by the King, as they will
 , be hereafter, since we have now a full De-
 , claration of his Good-will towards us, which we
 , have not had heretofore, only by Permission,
 , or speaking more properly, it was only a con-
 , niving at, and an overlooking of what we were
 , a-doing. Therefore we have great reason to
 , praise God for his Mercies towards us, and
 , especially because no notice is taken of many
 , things done rashly by some of our own Peo-
 , ple that deserve Death, were the King's E-
 , dicts strictly executed ; and, may be, would
 , be so punished, if, by our present Obedience
 , we do not make amends for past Offences,
 , committed by the too great Rashness and Li-
 , centiousness of the Guilty : For when every
 , thing shall be duly weighed and considered,
 , it will be found a very dangerous Precedent,
 , that the Subjects should take upon themselves
 , the

Charles
IX.
1563.
Pope Pius
IV.

, the Liberty and Authority of undertaking such
, great things (*the seizing upon the Properties of*
, *others, and destroying the Altars, Crosses, I-*
, *mages, Reliques, &c.*) and of usurping the
, Power, Authority and Execution belonging
, only to the King, and the Magistrate appointed
, by him, as the Holy Scripture teaches us. For
, the Case is very different in extraordinary Cal-
, lings (*such was the Case of Elijah with the*
, *Priests of Baal; of Josiah with the Golden Calves*
, *in Dan and Bethel, and some others related in*
, *the Holy Writings*) which could not be drawn
, in consequence, and under the Pretence where-
, of, it would be a very dangerous thing to un-
, dertake any thing, without a special Certain-
, ty of God's Will and Approbation: As to us,
, we have no evident Testimony in the Holy
, Writings for an extraordinary Calling, but we
, must consider our selves in the Case of the
, ordinary ones. We have then matter to praise
, God for our being tolerated and spared, to
, the end that the heaviest Judgment should
, fall upon our Adversaries. Therefore we must
, be so much the readier to obey, seeing that
, our Obedience will serve not only as a Co-
, vert for concealing the past Offences, and in-
, titling us to a greater Share in the Favour of
, those great Persons that have favoured us already,
, but likewise will afford them a better Oppor-
, tunity of discountenancing our Adversaries,
, and punishing those amongst them that de-
, serve it. Therefore, as heretofore, I have al-
, ways exhorted my Hearers to obey the King's
, Edicts, as far as that Obedience is not con-
, trary to that due unto God, and to their
, Consciences; so have I exhorted them to do
, the same in the present Juncture, and submit
, them-

Charles
IX.
1563.
Pope Pius
IV.

, themselves to what is now required from us,
 , seeing that we cannot refuse to comply, with-
 , out infringing our Duty, and without giving
 , Scandal, and exposing the Church and all its
 , faithful Members to great Danger, and giv-
 , ing our Adversaries great occasion of rejoic-
 , ing; for they desire rather our Rebellion,
 , whereby we should afford them a fair Pretence
 , of speaking evil of us, than our Obedience,
 , whereby we shall shut their Mouths. I have
 , written to you at large upon this Subject, be-
 , cause I don't doubt but several will think this
 , Restitution very hard and grievous, and much
 , backwarding the Progress of the Gospel; but
 , we ought rather to hope, that God, in hum-
 , bling us after that manner, intends our future
 , Exaltation, and the depressing of our Ene-
 , mies. Therefore let us not be moved by
 , their Arrogance, but let us wait patiently for
 , the Good-will of the Lord, forbearing the
 , making any ill use of his Gifts and Graces,
 , and worshipping and honouring him as it is
 , meet; to whom I recommend you, beseeching
 , him that he would be pleased to direct you
 , by his Holy Spirit in every thing, and that he
 , would keep and protect you,

From Nimes, the 15th of January, 1562.

Your Brother and Servant,

PETER VIRET.

So on the 22d of January 1562, the Keys of the abovesaid Churches (according to the King's Will) were delivered into the Hands of the Judge Criminal. The Reformed held their Meeting a Month after, in the great School and
in

in the old Court, as formerly. Viret being come to *Montpelier* for the sake of his Health, performed there his Ministerial Functions; the Januarian Edict having been published in that City on the 7th of February, in Conformity to which the Reformed held their Assemblies in one of the Suburbs, at a place called the *Gate of Lates* *.

Charles
IX.
1563.
Pope Pius
IV.

Nevertheless the Roman Catholicks dar'd not to begin again the Performance of their religious Service, till the coming of the Count of Crussol, who arrived in the City on the 9th of March, and the next Day he summoned the Officers of the Presidials, the Consuls, and the Elders of the Reformed Church, with the Roman Clergy, and notified to them the King's Will about the peaceful and publick Exercise of both Religions, whereupon both Parties declared their readiness to live in Peace one with another; and for obviating all manner of Inconveniencies a Gentleman was appointed by the said Lord to remain in the City and be Super-intendant, with a Guard of twenty five Soldiers, and was impowered to raise more, if there was occasion for it.

It is observable, that while Peter Viret preached at *Montpelier* on Easter-Day, the 29th of March 1562, three Suns were seen in the Sky, for an Hour and a half together, being surrounded with a Rainbow, which was taken by many in those Days, and hath been about fifty Years after by the great Thuanus, as a certain Omen of the Commotions that began in the Kingdom that very Day in several Parts, and continued so long afterwards; but I suppose that our Naturalists will not be more superstitious than I am my self upon such things.

VOL. II.

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On

* Beze liv. v. p. 881, — 888.

Charles
IX.
1563.
Pope Pius
IV.



On the 13th of April the Roman Clergy began to perform their Service at Montpelier in St. Firmin's Church; but they were interrupted by a very odd Accident, a very small Stone fell from the Roof, upon the Head of one that was in the Church, whereupon he was put in such a Fright, that with his Shrieks, joined with those of a young Lad forced into the Church by his own Uncle Captain *Rat*, all the Congregation was alarmed, and the Priests were the first to run away. From thenceforward they lived quietly enough, considering the times; the Enemy made several Attempts against the City, but always without Success; and at last Peace being made, it was published at Montpelier on the 11th of May 1563; and by a mutual Agreement between the Catholicks and Reformed, these last were allowed three Churches in the City, viz. La Loge's, St. Paul's, and St. Firmin's, instead of St. Matthew†.

VIVA-
RETZ.

NONNAY in Vivaretz had much more to suffer; at the beginning of the War, the Reformed Inhabitants having took upon them the whole Administration of the Town, in spite of the Catholicks, they broke to pieces the Altars, and tore the Images, whereby they drew upon themselves the Hatred, not only of their Fellow-Citizens, but also of their Neighbours, who were extremely incensed against them. Nevertheless there was no further Disturbance in the Town, till the latter end of August, when Captain Sarrafs was sent by Des Adrets to be Governor of the Town. He did find it unprovided with Arms, therefore to supply it, he went in the Night-time, on the 7th of October, to St. Stephen in Foretz, a neighbouring Town, wherein all sorts of Arms were forged, and

† Beze liv. x. p. 143, &c. Thuan. lib. xxxii.

and having set fire to the Gates, he entred the Town, and took away several Loads of Arms, without any further Violence. But as he was coming back to *Nonnay*, he was attacked and obliged to fight with so great Disadvantage, that 120 of his Men were partly wounded and partly killed; his own Brother was dangerously wounded, and he himself taken Prisoner.

Charles
IX.
1563.
Pope Pius
IV.

Four Days after St. Chaumont, sent by the Duke of Nemours, arrived before Nonnay on the last Day of October, and while he was treating with the Inhabitants for the surrender of that Place, he enter'd it by Force, and committed in it all those Acts of Avarice, Cruelty and Lewdness that could be expected from a fierce Enemy; twenty two Houses were burnt to the Ground; and had it not been for the Bailiff, the whole Town would have been laid in Ashes. The Inhabitants running away, the Town was almost deserted for several Weeks. But the Consuls and the King's Attorney, who was retired to *Tournon*, petitioned the Count of Crussol for some Relief, and Captain St. Martin was sent thither with 400 Men, Horse and Foot, who repaired immediately the Walls and fortified the Gates, and prepared every thing necessary for the Defence of that Place. But St. Chaumont being sent again by Nemours, with four thousand Men and two Cannons, St. Martin came back to *Tournon* with most part of his Horse, leaving the Guard and Defence of *Nonnay* to the Care of three Captains. St. Chaumont having battered the Walls, made a Breach; but seeing that it was very difficult to give an Assault, he endeavoured to engage the three Captains to come to a Parley. After several Debates they came to this Agreement, 1st, That the Officers and Soldiers should march out of the Town with

Charles IX. 1563. Pope Pius IV. their Horse and Arms, their Colours excepted. 2d, That the Inhabitants should receive no Damage from the Soldiers. These Conditions were sworn upon and subscribed by the two Parties, but violated by the Catholicks; for St. Chaumont was no sooner Master of the Town, than without any Distinction of Sex, he cruelly murdered all those that fell into his hands, plundered the Houses, and wasted whatever he could not carry away. Such was the State of Languedoc till the Edict of Peace, and in many Places till several Months after (*d*).

Of GUI-
ENNE.

The War was kindled in Guienne almost every where, and carried with very different Success, by four Chiefs. Two of whom on the Catholick Side, were Men of Note and great Authority, viz. Montluc and Burie; This, Governour of Bourdeaux and of the upper Guienne, and the other Governor of all Aquitaine. The two on the Reformed Side were not very considerable for their Birth, Rank, Estate or Credit; but they were very conspicuous for their Probity, Courage and Fortitude, and whose Names deserve to be mentioned with the greatest Encomiums to the remotest Posterity; the one was Captain PILES, a private Gentleman of Bergerac; the other was LA RIVIERE, who was a Student at Thoulouse at the beginning of the War, and was come with the Count of Grammont to Orleans. These two Gentlemen supported the Reformed Party in those parts with the greatest Glory, and put a Stop to the Enemies Progress. We shall mention their glorious Exploits presently.

BOUR-
DEAUX.

At Bourdeaux, tho' the Reformed were quiet, nevertheless M. De Nouailles, with some Presidents and Counsellors, seeing that the said Reformed

(*d*) Dinoth. lib. ii. ad fin. Beza liv. x.

formed were in a greater Number and stronger than the Catholicks, introduced into the City two Companies of Foot, to which the Parliament added another ; whereupon the Reformed elected some Captains, who with their Companies took upon them the Guard of the City Gates, for hindering the Country People from coming in, in a tumultuous manner, not having forgotten the Sedition of 1548. However, no Hostility was committed, and they sent to Nouailles for accounting for what they had done. Burie understanding this came speedily to Bourdeaux, and at his coming he disbanded the Company of the Parliament, but afterwards being bribed into the Triumvirate's Party, he made several warlike Preparations, notwithstanding the Remonstrances of the Reformed Inhabitants, who on the other hand received frequent Advices from the Prince to provide for their own Security. Therefore they resolved to seize upon the Government of the City. They sent to Baron de Duras, who was in the Neighbourhood, assembling his Troops, in order to lead them to Orleans, desiring his Assistance for executing their Scheme, which he promised. But being not come at the Day appointed, as they knew that Burie was informed of their Design, most part of them departed the City and went to Duras ; those who remained became the Prey of their Enemy ; for Burie's Troops rushing into their Houses, plundered them, and murdered all those they could meet, as guilty, in their Opinion, of Sedition and Rebellion (*e*).

Every thing being pacified at Bourdeaux, Montluc and Burie resolved to pursue Duras, and to give him Battle upon the first Opportunity ; whereof Duras having got Intelligence by

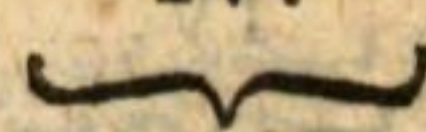
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(*e*) Dinoth. *ibid.* Beze liv. viii. p. 755, &c.

Charles
IX.
1563.
Pope Pius
IV.

Charles
IX.
1563.
Pope Pius
IV.



his Spies, he encamped on a level Ground, wherein having waited in vain all the Day long, for Burie, he resolved to continue his March to Orleans. He was hardly gone a Mile and a half, when Montluc set upon the Van led by Duras himself; he withstood the Onset, and Montluc was obliged to retire, having lost 300 Men, and Duras 30 only.

Montluc having quitted the Field to Duras, he went and stormed the Town of *Monsegur*, where he gave way to all manner of Cruelty, Lewdness and Avarice. The Reformed of *Agen*, frightened by that Example, departed the City, which Montluc and Burie understanding, they came into it and plundered their Houses. Mean while Duras, going to Orleans by small Journies, stormed *Lauzerte* in *Quercy*, wherein a vast number of Priests had taken Sanctuary, he plundered it, and there were about six hundred of the Inhabitants put to the Sword, amongst whom near two hundred Priests were reckoned. On the other hand, Montluc came to *Penne*, which he found quite destitute of Inhabitants, because they had retired into the Castle, which by reason of its Situation and Fortification was thought impregnable; but that General having battered it for three Days together, took it at last by storm, and spared no body, not even the sucking Babes, but put them all to the Sword; he was so much the more incensed, that he had lost seventy Men in the several Assaults.

The Rout
of Duras.

Duras having carried away two Cannons and other Pieces of Artillery from Montauban, as abovesaid, continued his March to Orleans; but Montluc having received some Companies of Spaniards, stormed in his way *Taraube*, and received *Lectoure* by Composition, followed him with great Celerity, and met him in the *Perigord*;

gord ; he encamped at a Place called *Stilavere*, half a League distant from *Ver*, where Duras was. The Vanguard of the Montluccians having been discovered on the 9th of October early in the Morning by the Durassians, they gave immediately the Alarm in their Camp. Whereupon Duras, who thought not that his Enemy was so near, enquired about the Matter, and was told that it was only a Troop of the Governor of Perigort, that had a-mind to fall upon his Rear ; and that as to Montluc he was at ten Leagues distance from the Place. Duras, instead of sending to *reconnoitre*, commanded a hundred Musketeers and thirty Foot to lie in ambush in a Wood, to fall upon the Rear of that pretended Troop, if it proceeded any further. Montluc seeing that Duras had no mind to fight, sent two Troops of Arquebusiers to stop him, till he might come himself with all his Forces. These Troops being gone beyond the Wood, the Durassians that lay in Ambush came out and fell upon them ; but having avoided the Engagement, they went back to their Army.

Montluc, desiring to bring Matters to a decisive Battle, caused all his Troops to march forward. Pardaillan, one of Duras's Officers, who thought that Montluc was very far off, went himself to *reconnoitre*, and being come back, told Duras that the Enemy's Army was not a Mile off ; and that they could by no means avoid the Battle ; therefore he thought it was absolutely necessary to dispose their Troops in such a manner that they might withstand the Onset. But Duras gave no heed to Pardaillan's Advice, and ordered his Foot to turn their Backs to the Enemy, in order to cross the River, and avoid the Battle by that means ; whereat Pardaillan ex-

Charles
IX.
1563.
Pope Pius
IV.

Charles

IX.

1563.

Pope Pius

IV.

claimed, and shewed forth by several Examples, that when two Armies are in Presence of one another, the first that retreats is certainly vanquished; but all his Remonstrances were in vain.

Montluc and Burie very glad to see Duras declining the Battle, set their own Army in Battle-Array, and having fired with their Field-Pieces amongst the Musketeers of Duras, they put them to rout; then they fell upon his Foot, which endeavoured to escape by flight, and made a great slaughter of them: They took all his Artillery and Baggage, and while the Montluccians were busied in plundering the Camp, part of Duras's Foot had time enough to cross the River Dordogne. They endeavoured to retreat into Montauban, but most of them were taken Prisoners upon the Road, and carried to Agen, where they were hanged like Highwaymen. It was computed that Duras lost in that Day, above two thousand, either Soldiers, or Soldiers Boys; several were wounded, amongst whom were the Baron of Montandre, the Lord of Caumont, and the Baron of Duras's Son. As to the Baron himself, having gathered the scatter'd Remnants of his Army, he continu'd his March to Orleans. He had hardly march'd six Miles, when he was set upon by a new Troop of Enemies, to the number of four hundred, whom he attacked with such Fury, that he put them all to the Sword, three only excepted. Then he continued his March without any great Disturbance.

The Count of La Rochefoucault, who was besieging St. Jean d'Angely, understanding that Montluc had routed Duras, thought proper to raise the Siege, and having joined his Troops with the Durassians, they came to Orleans, but a great number of them deserted upon the Road,

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in so much that there was but three hundred Horse, and fifteen hundred Foot when they arrived in that City.

Charles
IX.
1563.
Pope Pius
IV.

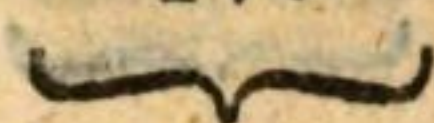
After the Battle of *Ver*, Burie went to *Bordeaux*, and Montluc into *Gascony*. The Reformed in all those Parts of the Parliament of *Toulouse's* Jurisdiction, were in a very wretched Condition, destitute of every Comfort of Life; they were obliged to fly from place to place, almost naked, starving with Hunger, and in a perpetual Fear.

Such being their Condition, there arose a Deliverer unlooked for, viz. ARMAND DE CLERMONT LORD OF PILES. Who, tho' he could not entirely restore the Reformed Party in *Guienne*, nevertheless he gave such check to the Catholics, that they dared not attempt any thing, but what turned to their own Detriment, in the Country wherein he lived.

The glorious Feats
of the two
Heroes
PILES
and RIVIERE.

This Gentleman being at *Orleans* with the Prince, and understanding that Montluc and Burie made such great havock in *Guienne*, that none of the Reformed dared to cope with them, nor even to remain safe in their own Houses, inflamed with a desire of relieving his Country, so miserably afflicted, and having persuaded some Soldiers to follow him, he came by long Journeys to *Xaintonge*. There, tho' he endeavoured to engage some of the Gentry not to forsake their own Country, his Intreaties prevailed not, for six Soldiers only remained with him, all the rest went to join the Prince at *Orleans*. However, tho' in such Distress, he was not wanting to himself, but whatever Misfortune might befall him, he resolved to relieve his Country and Religion; therefore he went to his own House near *Bergerac* with those six Soldiers, and enquired as secretly as he could, whether he could find some

Charles
IX.
1563.
Pope Pius
IV.



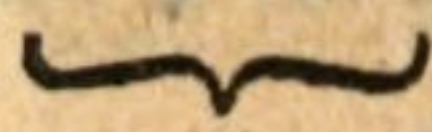
some Reformed, thinking (as it was true) that there were some of them remaining in the Country, but they were concealing themselves, or flying from one Place to another; however, having met with some, he exhorted them not to be desponding; and if they knew any other of their Communion able to bear Arms, to engage them to take them up, that he would be their Chief; he appointed likewise some Places, where they might be found whenever he should have occasion for them. He did not sit still in his own House, but went from one Place to another, waiting for an Opportunity of entering on Action. It offered it self soon after; for understanding that several Reformed detained Prisoners at Bergerac, were to be soon executed, he resolved to rescue them. Therefore having picked out thirty Men, whom he thought the most resolute and courageous of all those who had offered their Service to him, he came to Bergerac, and unexpectedly being entered into the Town, he went to one of his Houses there, thro' the middle of the Place, all the Citizens and the Garison being frightned out of their Wits at such an uncommon Boldness, and fearing lest he would be followed by some greater Forces; therefore, instead of their Arms, they made use of Prayers and Intreaties, beseeching him to depart the City with all his Men; and that whatever was in their power was at his Service, and that they would do any thing to oblige him. But PILES answered, That he was not come to go out so soon; and that he would put them all to the Sword, if in a Minute they did not deliver into his hands all the Prisoners they had for Religion's sake. Whereupon, seeing that he required nothing more, and unwilling to engage in Fight with DESPERADOES, they granted his Request, and

and having received the Prisoners, he went back with them to his Country-House, without doing any further harm or damage to the Inhabitants.

Charles
IX
1563
Pope Pius
IV.

Now, whereas he intercepted every Day some of them, who went on horseback upon their private Business, and took their Horses to bestow upon his own Followers, all the Country rose against him; therefore he was obliged to leave the Place, and left in his stead RIVIERE for protecting those that remained concealed in those Parts against the Violence of their Enemies. This Gentleman understanding that the Town of St. Foy upon the Dordogne, had been surprized by REZAT one of the Montluccian Officers; and that the Reformed of that Place, were in great danger of their Lives, took along with him only three Arquebusiers, fourteen Cross-Bow-Men and some Peasants with their Forks, and came in the Night-time to the Walls of the Town, and having set Ladders in a proper Place, they enter'd into it without being discovered; they went directly to the Market-Place, where REZAT had left a Corps de Guard, and put them all to the Sword before they could be relieved. The Troops that were quartered upon the Inhabitants, hearing the Noise, dared not stir out from their Houses for an Hour, thinking that the Town was full of Enemies, but afterwards seeing that every one was quiet again, and hearing no noise in the Streets, some of them came out to the Corps de Guard, to know what was the matter; but instead of their Companions, they met their Enemies; and whereas they came in small numbers, two or three together, they were all slain as they came in. As RIVIERE saw that no body stirred any more in the Town, he rushed with his Men in-
to

Charles
IX.
1563.
Pope Pius
IV.



to the Houses, took several Prisoners, and REZAT himself, who had been so cruel as to keep all the Day long the Minister of the Place tied up to the Post of his Bed, in order to have him publickly executed on the next Day. REZAT then being then taken Prisoner, was put by RIVIERE under the Care of his Men, who (because he had been unmercifully cruel towards the Reformed who fell into his hands, being always followed by an Executioner who bragged that he had hanged for his Share seven hundred, by his Master's Orders) murdered him about Noon, notwithstanding RIVIERE's Intreaties to the contrary. This happened about the 18th of December 1562; there were fourscore *Rezattines* killed on this occasion, besides their Chief, but not one Man was killed on the other side. Now RIVIERE seeing that the Town was not strong enough to withstand a Siege, marched out with his Men.

Montluc and Burie understanding these Progresses of PILES and RIVIERE, who undertook such great Feats, and succeeded with so small a number of Men, thought that it was necessary to put a Stop to them, before they should be strengthened with a greater number. Therefore they detached some Companies of Foot against them, which made a terrible Havock at Bergerac and in the adjacent Country. RIVIERE vexed at such cruel Treatment used against the poor Inhabitants by the Montluccians, ran up and down the Villages, to assemble those whom he could find courageous enough to join with him; and having made a Body of one hundred and twenty Peasants, with only twelve Soldiers, he attacked in the Night-time, one Captain LA SALE, belonging to Montluc, in a Village called *Castain*, where he arrived the Day before with
three

three hundred Men ; the Assailors were so successful at first, that they killed one hundred and forty Men of La Sale's, and would have destroy'd them all had they followed RIVIERE's Orders: Not one of his Troop was missed ; from thence he retreated into the Suburbs of *Bergerac*.

Charles
IX.
1563.
Pope Pius
IV.

There was in the Neighbourhood five Companies of Montluccian Foot, and a Cornet of Horse, who desiring to be revenged of the Slaughter of their Companions, put themselves in battle-array in an open Field, waiting till RIVIERE should march out of the Suburbs of *Bergerac*, in hopes that they should easily cut him to pieces, if he was so rash as to engage with them ; and if he declined, he could not avoid falling into the hands of some of the Parties they intended to send after him. RIVIERE, very sensible of the threatening Danger he was in, being surrounded every where by the Enemies, and having not Forces enough for engaging, seeing besides that, that he could not lead his Men safe in the Enemy's sight, found himself in a great perplexity. But at last he thought of a Device which succeeded to Wishes. He had a Trumpet along with him, which he caused to stand hard by behind a Village, and there to sound as loud as he could, to make the Enemy believe he had a Troop of Horse lying in Ambuscade, and by that means hinder them from falling upon his Men, whom he caused to cross the River in good order, which they did, having met some Boats for that purpose ; the Enemy's Horse not daring to pursue them, for fear of the pretended Ambuscado. When they had crossed the River, RIVIERE did the same with his Trumpet, in the sight of the Enemy that gnashed their Teeth for having been his Cullies.

Mean

Charles
IX.
1563.
Pope Pius
IV.

Mean while PILES wandered in the AGENOIS and PERIGORD with some Soldiers he had gathered together; having got intelligence by his Spies, that a Troop of light Horfe was at *Montagnac*, in order to go and join the Duke of Guise, tho' he was far inferior in number (for he had but fifteen Horfe and as many Foot, whereas that Troop was of one hundred and twenty Horfe) he resolved to attack them, because he thought to surprize them, while they should be asleep mistrusting of nothing, but he was discovered by the Centinels, nevertheless he was unwilling to retreat, and resolved to have them by open force; whereupon, his Foot having heard the Trumpets sounding, and seeing that they could not execute their Scheme, without exposing themselves to an evident Danger, forsook their Chief and went away; but being not at all moved by their Consternation, PILES with his Horfe only assaulted the Enemy who were rallying under their Standard, with such a fury, that he routed them immediately, and put them to flight, fifteen of them were killed in that Engagement; the Horfes were very useful to PILES for remounting his Troop, that had but very indifferent ones.

Montluc stirred up by the unexpected and wonderful Success of these two Gentlemen, assembled Troops from every quarter for subduing them, or at least for expelling them out of his Government. Which being understood by PILES, seeing that he had not Forces enough to keep the Field, resolv'd to seize upon some fortified Town, and was so favoured by Providence, that being entered by Escalado in the night-time into *Mucidan* (a pretty strong Town, well enough fortified for those days) with only thirty Men, he made himself master of it; and with the same Force,

Force, having assaulted the Castle, (wherein there was a strong Garison) with only fourteen of his Men, he carried it.

Charles
IX.
1563.
Pope Pius
IV.

The Reformed of that Country hearing the News of that Victory, came by Bands to PILES, for they all knew *Mucidan* was a strong Place. However, he did not keep them all, because the Town could not afford Provisions enough, but he pick'd six hundred out of that Multitude, judging, That that Number was sufficient for the Defence of the Town: And whereas he knew that Montluc was a Man that would make all his Efforts, and leave no stone unturn'd, till he had recover'd the Place, he gave all his Attention and Care for providing the Town with every thing necessary for withstanding a Siege.

That being understood by Montluc, he assembled his Troops, and sent word to the Senechal of Perigord to do the same, to the end, that having joined their Forces together, they might attack vigorously *Mucidan*. But the Senechal, out of Jealousy against Montluc, waited not for him; he went with one hundred and twenty Horse, and as many Foot, and encamped in a Place strong enough by its Situation, waiting for the rest of his Forces. Now, in order to draw PILES to an Engagement, he approach'd the Town with his Horse, and laid his Foot in Ambuscado in a Mill thereabout, coming nearer and nearer the Walls with a Confidence so much the greater, that he knew that PILES had but a very few Horse. This last had marched out of the Town with eighty Foot, and had sent before thirty-four Horse to *reconnoitre* what number and what sort of Troops were those of the Enemy. When the Perigordans descried them, and judging rightly that PILES followed with a greater number they retreated.

PILES

Charles
IX
1563.
Pope Pius
IV.

PILES pursued them full gallop, but could not come at them ; but he assaulted the Foot lying in Ambuscado, that had discovered themselves by their firing upon his Troop ; they made a stout Resistance, but at last the Mill having taken fire, they perished all to one, either by the Flames, or by the Sword. PILES lost one Man on this Occasion. The Seneschal not thinking himself safe in the Place where he had encamped, retreated with his Horse only, having lost all his Foot, and so *Mucidan* was not besieged for that time. PILES seeing himself delivered, resolved upon some new Expedition.

Therefore he made an Attempt upon *Bergerac* in the Night-time, which at first succeeded not, because the Key which he had caused to be made for opening one of the Gates, did break of it self in the Lock ; therefore he went back to *Mucidan*, four Leagues distant from *Bergerac*. But on the 12th of March 1563, he came again, and by the means of an Intelligence, who had his House just next to the Wall, he entered the Town, put all the Garison of three hundred Men strong, to the Sword, and made himself Master of the Place ; and after having given proper Orders for the keeping of it, he came back to *Mucidan*, and strengthened it every Day with Men and Provisions. Montluc surprized at these unexpected Conquests, sent Orders to Captain *Poyrot*, his Son, to march directly, and without further Delay to besiege *Mucidan* with three Cannons.

But while they were preparing at Bourdeaux the necessary things for that Siege, the Peace was concluded between the King and the Prince, which was proclaimed at *Bourdeaux*, and Montluc having sent notice of it to PILES, he retired full of Glory into his own House.

Charles
IX.
1563.
Pope Pius
IV.

As to RIVIERE, after that wonderful Retreat above related, he came the next Day to *Boesse*, in order to go and meet PILES, and was in great danger at *Biron*, from whence he escaped by letting himself down the Wall. A few days after, as he was alone, in search of PILES, riding a very bad Horse, and having no other Accoutrement but a Jerkin, he was met and attacked by a Party of twenty Horse, knocked down and taken, after having received a Pistol-shot that went quite through his Reins; and in that Condition was led by them over a small Bridge upon the *Drot*, in order to bring him into a small Village thereabout. But as they went over the Bridge, being led by two Men, who held him under his Arm-pits, he slipped from them, and threw himself into the River, and swimming betwixt two Waters, till he was tired, he came to one of the Banks, then his Enemies fired at him several times, but miss'd him always, and whereas they were afraid of being discovered by those of *Eymet*, where PILES was, they persisted no longer. RIVIERE being come out of the Water, found himself very weak, after the great quantity of Blood that he had lost; and was in a great perplexity, knowing not that PILES was Master of *Eymet*. Nevertheless, as he was not able to walk any longer, he resolved to deliver himself Prisoner to the Centinel at the Gate, who brought him to the commanding Officer; but he was very agreeably surprized to find in his Person, his intimate Friend PILES, who received him with all the Demonstrations of Joy and Friendship, but withal of Compassion and Sorrow, because he was forced to set out from that Place that very Night, or else he was in danger of falling into his Enemies hands. Therefore his Wound having been dress'd, and

Charles IX. 1563. Pope Pius IV. having refreshed himself a little, PILES took him up behind him on horseback, and carried him to the Place of his Retirement, from whence he found means of sending him to *Pardaillan*, where he recovered himself so perfectly well, that seventeen Days after he was able to ride with his Arms on his Back (*f*).

XAIN-
TONGE.

Immediately after the News of the Vassiacan Massacre was heard in Xaintonge, the Count of La Rochefoucault received Letters from the Prince of Condé, his Brother-in-Law, whereby he desired him to come and meet him at Orleans, as soon as possible, with all the Forces he could raise, for delivering the King and Queen from the hands of the Triumvirs, and for the Defence of the Liberties granted to the Reformed Churches by the Januarian Edict.

Accordingly the said Count wrote to the Churches of Xaintonge, and on the 25th of March 1562, most of the Nobility met together at *St. Jean d'Angely*, for being first of all resolved by the Word of God, about the Lawfulness of that Undertaking. That Point having been maturely debated, it was agreed, That it was lawful to rise in Arms for the Deliverance of their Majesties, and the Defence of the Religion oppressed by the Triumvirs and their Adherents, in defiance of the Edicts solemnly sworn and published.

Whereupon, on the 3d of April, the Nobility assembled at *Briou*, having elected the Lord St. Martin de La Coudre for their Chief, till they could be joined with the Count of La Rochefoucault, who was already marching with the Nobility of *Portou* and *Angoumois*: they

(*f*) Whatever I have related of those two Heroes, is extracted out of Beza liv. ix. p. 794, ——— 809. Dinoth. lib. ii. p. 164, ——— 169. Thuan. lib. xxxiv. p. 223, 224.

set out a few Days after, to the Number of three hundred Horse, having Mr. Charles Leopold for their Chaplain. They arrived safe at *Tours*, where they received Orders from the Prince to remain for guarding that City till further Orders.

Charles IX.
1563.
Pope Pius IV.

Another Assembly was held at *St. Jean d'Angely*, on the 25th of April, to consider of the properest Means for the Security of the Country during the War; and that Province was quiet enough for some time; only, that for fear of the Seditious, they were obliged in several Places to keep their religious Assemblies within the Towns. The Lord of Martron was the first that disturbed the publick Peace, endeavouring to seize upon the City of *Angoulême*; he was repulsed by those of *Xaintonge* that came to their Relief.

During their Absence some Catholicks of *Oleron*, at the Instigation of some Priests, having seized upon the Fort of *St. Andrew de Dolus*, gave the beginning to the War in those Parts. But the Inhabitants of *St. Peter's-Borough* sent to *Marennés* and other adjacent Places, for two Companies of Foot and three Field-Pieces, and having summoned in vain the Enemies to surrender, they battered the Fort, and at last carried it, and many of the Besieged were killed; but some time after that, the Isle was forced to surrender by Composition, whereby the free Exercise of the Reformed Religion was forbid to the Inhabitants.

On the 23d of September *St. Jean d'Angely* was likewise surrendered to the Catholicks by Composition; but a few days after *RICHELIEU* the Monk being come into the Town, he used all manner of Cruelties against the Reformed Inhabitants. In the Month of October it was be-

Charles
IX.

1563.

Pope Pius
IV.*Saintes.*

sieged by La Rochefoucault; but Duras having been routed at the same time, as above said, he was obliged to raise the Siege, because of the Desertion of his Troops.

All the Province of Xaintonge was put in a terrible Consternation by the said Rout, and the sudden Departure of La Rochefoucault. Many of the Reformed Inhabitants of *Saintes* departed the City, and one Captain Nogaret having taken possession of it, he treated most cruelly those that remained.

The Duke of Montpensier, having conferred with Burie and Montluc, came again into Xaintonge, and finding the Country unprovided, and in so great a Consternation, he made himself sure of *La Rochelle*, wherein he found means to enter with several Companies of Foot and Horse, and forbid them the free Exercise of the Reformed Religion. Those of *Marennes* frightened thereat, came to an Agreement with the said Duke.

Allevert.

Those of *Allevert* were more courageous, and would not hearken to any Proposition that tended to deprive them of their Liberty, or engaged them to act against their Brethren of the same Communion. In short, almost all the Reformed of that Province were put under the Yoke for about five or six Months together, by the means of Montpensier, Montluc and Burie, *Allevert* only excepted, of which more in the next Article (g).

Of Or-

LEANESF.

The Government of Orleanois was exposed the most of all to the Fury of this War, the two contending Parties having their chief Armies in it; and having already spoken at large about their Operations, and the terrible Devastations

(g) Extracted out of Beza liv. ix. p. 821, &c.

tions caused by them, I shall make this Article Charles IX.
so much the shorter.

Tho' La Rochelle holds of the Parliament of ^{1563.} *Pope Pius*
Paris; nevertheless, because it is inclosed in the ^{IV.}
Government of the Orleanois, and the first City ^{La Ro-}
to be met with North-East, as you come from ^{chelle and}
Xaintonge, I shall mention it here the first. We ^{Country of}
have taken notice in the 57th Article of the Re-AULNIX.
fusals that City made, at the Instigation of Jar-
nac, to enter into the General Association of the
Reformed Churches for this present War, any fur-
ther than by a voluntary Contribution of 1600
Livres per Month.

But they had occasion to repent of it after-
wards; for having shut up their Gates to the
Count of La Rochefoucault, notwithstanding
their Intreaties and free Gifts to the Duke of
Montpensier, the said Duke entered into the
City, in October, as above said, and restored
the Roman Religion on the same foot it had
been three Years before, and put in Garisons of
his own Troops in the Villages and Boroughs
round about it, which was against their Privi-
leges. Now some of the Citizens sensible of
their Folly, but too late, resolved to make them-
selves Masters of the City, by the means of a
Correspondence they kept with Captain Chenet,
who since the taking of Oleron lived in the
Neighbourhood; having then found means to let
him into the City, he ordered every thing to be
ready for his Enterprize the best he could; and
at last, on the 8th of February 1563, he came
out in the Streets early in the Morning, and
cried aloud PROSPERITY TO THE GOSPEL,
Whereat above three hundred Men well armed
having joined with him, he seized upon the City
Gates, and the *Tower of the Chain*, wherein he
put a strong Guard; he arrested Prisoner Clau-

dius

Charles
IX.

1563.

Pope Pius
IV.

dius D'Angliers and some others, and gave them to the Custody of some whom he trusted best, wherein he was much deceived; for they were soon set at liberty; and then they work'd so well upon the Mayor, who kept himself concealed in a Stable, that he took his Arms with some others, and went along the Streets, crying like Chenet, PROSPERITY TO THE GOSPEL; whereupon he was in an instant, followed by most part of the Citizens, even of many, that had before joined with Chenet; then the Mayor seeing that he was the strongest, he arrested Chenet and some of his Adherents, giving, however, fair Words to the Reformed for some Days, till his Party being entirely superior to them, by the means of the Auxiliaries sent to him by Burie, some of the Prisoners were hanged; and while they were upon the Trial of Chenet and some others, the News arriving of the Peace being concluded, they were released.

RE.

In the Island of Ré, the Catholicks understanding that their Fellow Countrymen of the Reformed Religion continued to meet together, tho' in the Night-time, they made all Diligence for suppressing these Meetings, and in a riotous manner ran over the Island, and rushing into the Houses of the Reformed, they plundered and ranfacked them all.

ALLE-
VERT.

But for all that, the publick Meetings could not be suppressed in all the Islands, those of Allevert were always inflexible, being much encouraged by their Minister Charles Leopard; and their Courage and Fortitude was such, that they put to fright their very Enemies that came into their Town, and kept them in awe, chiding them freely for their Cursing and Swearing; nay, a notable Woman was so courageous as to give a Slap in the Face to a Soldier whom she had heard

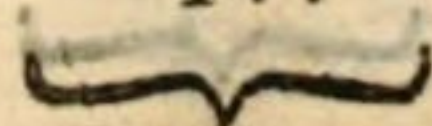
heard swearing in the Streets. Nevertheless they Charles
escaped very narrowly being surprized and ut- IX.
terly destroyed; for Charles Guitard, Seneschal 1563.
of Xaintonge, sent seven hundred Foot under Pope Pius
the Command of Captains Barbé and Bochereau, IV.
that came by a Place called *La Maire*, where
the Fort stood, and himself set out from Saintes,
at nine in the Evening, on the first of February
1563, with one hundred Horse. Another
Gentleman came at the same time by Sea with
some Galliot, while another staid at *Marennnes*,
to hinder lest any Succour should go to *Allevvert*;
therefore their Ruin was unavoidable, had not
Almighty God sent a Panick to the Land For-
ces, who having met with only twelve Men
armed in the Forest, mistook them for an Army
of twelve thousand, and ran away with full
speed. As to the Galliot they were so briskly
received at their Landing, that they were very
glad to get on board again; so that Island was
delivered by these providential means (*b*).

The City of *Poitiers* enjoyed Peace and Tran-
quillity at the beginning of this War, and till
the 20th of April, the Inhabitants of both Re-
ligions observing strictly the Articles of the Ja-
nuarian Edict; they gave free Passage thro'
their City to the Troops of both Parties; and
were come to this Agreement on the 17th of
April, that the City Gates should be guarded
Night and Day by two Captains, one Catholick
and the other Reformed. The Count of La
Rochefoucault going to Orleans, tarried all
Night long with his Troops in the City; and
three Days after, the three Companies of Horse
from Xaintonge, as above mentioned, took the
same Road in their way to Orleans. On the
19th of April the Count of Lude, Governor of
Poi-

C c 4

(*b*) Beze liv. ix. p. 821, to the end of the Book.

Charles
IX
1563
Pope Pius
IV.



POITOU and a great Enemy to the Reformed, arrived at *Poitiers*, and on the 20th, one Belleville going to *Orleans* with his Company, went thro' the City, and passed by the House of the said Count, Drums beating and Colours flying, whereat he was much affronted, and went out of the City. After his Departure, the Inhabitants began to fall out one with another; nevertheless there was no great Tumult excited till the Images were broken, on the 8th of May. On the 22d, the Lord of St. Gemmes was sent by the Prince to be their Governor, and they remained in the peaceable Possession of the City till the 12th of July, when the Count of Villars sent an Herald to summon them to surrender. St. Gemmes answered, *That he knew not what Authority VILLARS had to send such a Summons; that he had been sent by the Prince to keep the City under the King's Obedience, and for defending it against all Violence; and that accordingly he was resolved to withstand, with two thousand Soldiers, and as many Gentlemen that were with him, all the Assaults of the Enemy.* On the same Day he received a Reinforcement of a Company of Foot and sixty Horse. On the 13th, he received seven Companies of Foot, and six hundred Musketeers on horseback, with some Cannons. These Troops were fled from *Angers*, *Saumur* and *Loudun*. In the Night there was an Alarm given in the Suburbs adjoining to the Castle; and there was reason enough to suspect, that a Party of the Enemy had been treacherously admitted into the said Castle. St. Gemmes understanding this, caused the Cannon to be brought the next Day before the Castle, to force PINEAU the Governor to surrender it; and having battered part of the Wall, he made himself Master of the Inner Court; whereupon Pineau, being

being frighten'd, desired a Suspension of Arms till the next Day eight o'clock in the Morning, which was granted, notwithstanding the Opinion of many to the contrary; but the appointed Hour being come, the perfidious Pineau said, That he would keep the Castle for the King. The next Day, the 17th of July, the Count of La Rochefoucault coming from Orleans, caused a new Assault to be given to the Castle, but Pineau by his Allurements and fair Words prevailed so far upon him, that he desisted. On the 19th the Count made a general Review of the Forces, either Natives or Foreigners, and finding that they were not strong enough for the Defence of so large a City, he exhorted them to do their best, till he could send them a Reinforcement; and so he set out for Xaintonge, in order to make new Levies.

No sooner was he gone, but a Herald came again for summoning the City to surrender to the King. He was answered, That they kept it for the King; and that they did acknowledge no other but his Majesty. The next Day, and on the 22d of July he came again upon the same Errand, accompanied by two Trumpets. Then the Mayor went to St. Gemmes's House, and having not met him, he told the Herald, *That the Keys of the City were not in his custody, and therefore he could not deliver them to the Count of Villars, that however they would be always faithful Subjects to the King.* But while the Herald was speaking with the Mayor, five Companies of Horse and two of Foot arrived at the Gate of Rochereul, which were repulsed by the Garrison. On the 24th the Company of Villars approached the Gate of St. Lazare, in hopes of being introduced into the Castle by some Intelligence; but after a Skirmish which lasted

Charles
IX.
1563.
Pope Pius
IV.

Charles

IX.

1563.

Pope Pius

IV.

lasted four Hours, they were forced to retire. The very same Day the City was reinforced by some Companies coming from Niort and St. Maixant, with some *Fauconets*, and three Days after they received a Cornet with Forty Horse.

The Count of Villars seeing that the Garison grew every day stronger, thought proper to attack the City before the Count of La Rochefoucault, who was coming with a great Body of Troops, could be arrived. Therefore having caused the Cannon to be brought on the last Day of July, he battered the Walls at twodifferent Places; and on the first of August the Marshal of St. Andrew being arrived in the Camp, ordered a General Assault, which was bravely withstood by the Besieged, and the Assaultors were retreating, when the Traitor Pineau gave them a Signal from the Castle, for coming back; and in the mean time he levell'd his Cannon against the Garison and Inhabitants that came for the Defence of the Walls. The Garison surprized at this, and suspecting lest some greater Treason was ready to break out, forsook their Posts, and not knowing what to do, they ran away through the Gates which were not assaulted; then the Enemy entring into the City, without any further Resistance fell a plundering, murdering and committing the most horrid Acts of Cruelty and Barbarity against the poor Inhabitants for eight Days together, without any Distinction either of Sex or Age; nay, one of them was so monstrously brutish, that he made a Fricassee of the Ears he had cut off, and invited with horrid Blasphemies, his Companions to eat with him of that execrable Mess: most of those who fled, falling into the Enemies hands, were murdered; and none but those who rode hard upon swift Horses could make their escape.

escape. They ranfacked not only the City, but the Country twenty Miles round about; no more than six hundred Horse arrived safe in the Count of La Rochefoucault's Army, who was not far off (*i*). Charles IX. 1563. Pope Pius IV.

The greatest Cruelties were likewise used in the Country of Anjou against the Reformed. The City of *Angers* having been trusted, by the unanimous Consent of all the Inhabitants, to the Care of a Nobleman named De La Barbée, remained in a peaceable State for some time; but several of the Reformed Inhabitants being gone to meet the Prince at Orleans, the Catholicks improved this Opportunity for taking upon themselves the whole Government of the City. Anjou. Angers.

For that end they deputed some of them to the Duke of Montpensier, Governor of Anjou, who sent *Puy-gaillard* with some Companies of Soldiers: He entred the City on the 5th of May, and made himself Master of it without much ado; and in order to oppress more easily the Inhabitants, whereof many being frighten'd had a mind to depart the City, he ensnared them by a sham Reconciliation between the two Parties, Reformed and Catholick; by the chief Articles whereof they were both obliged to lay down their Arms, and he was to be the only Governor of the City; and the Reformed were to enjoy the free Exercise of their Religion, as the *Januarian* Edict directed them. But about two Days after, the Catholicks rushed into the Houses of the Reformed, and took Prisoners those whom they met in their way. Having found many Books in a Merchant's House, they were burnt in publick, a fine Bible excepted, which they

(*i*) *Dinoth.* lib. ii. p. 157, &c. *Beza* liv. vii. p. 601, 609. *Thuan.* lib. xxx. p. 115, 116, 117.

Charles IX. 1563. Pope Pius IV. they carried upon the Point of a Halberd along the Streets, crying in a horrid manner, HERE IS THE HUGUENOTS TRUTH HANGED, THE TRUTH OF ALL THE DEVILS; and being come to the Bridge, they threw it into the River, crying, HERE IS THE TRUTH OF ALL THE DEVILS DROWNED. They plundered all the wealthiest Houses; and as to the Prisoners, seven of them were beheaded, and fifty-seven hang'd by Sentence of the Judges; besides which forty-four were murdered by the Soldiery, amongst whom were found some Catholicks, that had been mistaken for Reformed. A Nobleman, Des Marets by Name, having possessed himself of a Strong-hold about eight Miles from Angers, was besieg'd in it three times; the two first times he repulsed the Enemy with great Loss on their side; but at the third he was forced, taken Prisoner, and brought in a triumphant manner to Angers, where he was broke alive upon the Wheel.

The Country of
MAINE.
Le Mans.

The Reformed Inhabitants of *Mans* having heard the News of the Vassiacan Massacre, seized upon the City-Gates, and having summoned those of the neighbouring Towns, they held a general Assembly of all the Citizens, wherein it was agreed by the two Parties to assist the Prince of Condé in his Undertaking for delivering the King, Queen-Mother and Royal Family out of the Triumvirate's hands. And tho' the Clergy had no Affection for the Prince, because he took the Reformed under his Protection, nevertheless they promised willingly a round Sum of Money towards the Expences of the War, and appointed a certain Priest for collecting the said Sum: But when the two Noblemen that were to lead the Troops to the Prince at Orleans, went to the said Priest's House, two Days after, for

for receiving the Money, at first he received them very graciously, and entertained them elegantly at Dinner: But after that, as they went out of the Dining-Room, he fired a Pistol at one of them behind and murdered him; he attempted to do the same with the other, but he escaped by Flight, and running into the Streets, he alarmed the whole City, telling how his Friend had been treacherously murdered by the Priest, whereupon the said House was in an instant assaulted, and forced by a vast number of the Inhabitants, Catholicks as well as Reformed; they searched every Corner of it, and found the Corpse of the Deceased in the Cellar. The Murderer was taken and carried to Goal, and all his Goods were seized. Several Canons were likewise arrested upon Suspicion, but afterwards released the very same Day. Seven Days after the Priest having been tried and condemned to be hang'd, was executed in the publick Place. Whereat the Clergy being frightened, they forsook their Churches and Houses and departed the City. The Bishop retired into a Castle he had four Miles distant from the City, wherein he strengthened himself with Men and Arms, and committed all manner of Hostilities against the Inhabitants of Mans, plundering their Country-Houses, hindering the Provisions from coming into the City, stopping the Merchants and other Travellers that went by his Castle, and shutting them up close Prisoners therein, if there was the least Suspicion in the World that they had followed the Reformed Party, and they were treated most inhumanly in their Confinement.

Charles
IX.
1563.
Pope Pius
IV.

But for all that the Inhabitants of *Mans* were not much moved, because they knew that the Bishop had not Forces enough to undertake any thing

Charles IX. 1563. Pope Pius IV. thing against the City. But when they understood that Chavigny, one of the Duke of Montpensier's Lieutenants, and a very cruel Man, raised Troops for assaulting them, they sent to the neighbouring Places for Succours, which was readily granted, and Chavigny having notice of it, desisted from his Enterprize.

Now these Troops that were come to the Assistance of the Reformed of Mans, being freed from the Fear of the Enemy, ran into all manner of Licentiousness, and drew upon themselves the Destruction which they might have averted by their Modesty and Forbearance; they rushed into the Churches and pulled down the Altars, tore to pieces the Images, opened the Tombs to steal away the Lead, and committed a thousand other pieces of Villany that exposed them deservedly to the just Indignation of the Country People, who fell upon them where-ever they could meet them, and killed many that were loaded with Spoils; but for all that, the others desisted not from their Wickedness, notwithstanding the Exhortations and Admonitions of the Ministers.

The Inhabitants much displeased at such Depravation of Manners, sent to the Prince of Condé, to let him know, that if a stop was not speedily put to it, that would be the occasion of the Destruction of the City. His Highness appointed a young Nobleman of his Household to command the Troops that were in Mans; but for want of Skill and Experience, he was not able to put the Soldiery under any Restraint, especially not being supported by the Officers. Therefore having gathered as much Money as he could, he went back to Orleans.

After

After he was gone, the News came to the City, that the Duke of Montpensier was levying Forces to join with the Bishop's, and come together to assault the City; that the Triumvirate's Army having already advanc'd as far as Blois, they could expect no Succour from the Prince; whereupon all the City was in an Up-roar, and those who a little before seemed to fear nothing, had now quite different Thoughts, and were the forwardest in providing for their own Safety. There was an Assembly between the Officers and the chief Inhabitants, for consulting together about what was to be done in the present Juncture: No body voted for waiting the Enemy's coming, but they unanimously agreed upon a speedy flight.

Charles
IX.
1563.
Pope Pius
IV.

Therefore, on the 12th of July, at eight o'clock in the Evening, they departed the City in such a Hurry, that most part of them had no time to take any of the Necessaries for travelling. There were about eight hundred Arquebusiers, and a Multitude of Men unarmed, Women and Children; the Arquebusiers were under the Command of three Captains, two whereof took party with the Bishop; the other named Lamote Tibergeau, took the Road of Normandy; and having led that Multitude to Alençon, they took different Parties; those who were averie from War, sought Refuge wherever they could; some went to Dieppe, and from thence most part came over to England; the best part of the Soldiery went to join Montgomery, who was then upon the Frontiers of Britanny. Those who would not follow them, went to the Duke of Bouillon at Caën.

The next Day, viz. the 13th of July, the Catholick Troops headed by the Bishop entered into the City of *Mans* with the Priests and Monks
that

Charles
IX.
1563.
Pope Pius
IV.

that had been gone from it since the Execution of that Priest, as above mentioned; and no doubt but they were reveng'd severely for all the Injuries and Wrongs they had suffer'd, but the Innocent paid for the Guilty, and the Houses of all the Reformed Inhabitants, without any Distinction having been entirely ransacked, they fell upon the poor Inhabitants of that Religion, filled up the Prisons with them, and tho' they had had no hand at all in the Crimes of those profligate Soldiers, that were fled like Cowards the Day before, yet, without Distinction of Age or Sex, they were tried, condemned and executed; some beheaded, some hanged, some drowned, some cut into small Pieces, some burnt alive, and their Goods forfeited. Nay, their Hatred went so far, that even the Catholicks who were any wise related to, or had any tie of Friendship with some Reformed, suffered for it; and a Midwife, tho' a violent Catholick, was condemned to be hanged and executed, only, for having delivered a Reformed Woman some Months before. They had corrupted false Witnesses, that charged the Innocents with whatever Crime that came in their mind, and the Accused were not allowed to challenge any of the Witnesses, or any of the Judges (k).

The Bishop (according to Thuanus) was the great Promoter of those unjust and cruel Proceedings. He was born of a most noble and ancient Family, and had been brought up in the Reformed Religion, (according to Beza) but after his Mother's Death he turned Catholick. Thuanus says, that very often he delighted

(k) Dinoth. lib. ii. p. 153, 154, 155. Beze liv. vii. p. 514. — 537. Thuan. lib. xxx. f. 104, 105.

better in Military Exploits, than in the Performance of his Pastoral Duties; that he used the Clergy no better than others, condemning them to very large Fines upon the least Suspicion; that he obliged every one to contribute equally towards the Expences of the War, which Money, however, was laid out in extravagant Expences, as Gluttony, &c. by himself and his Emissaries. There was in the Cathedral, the Statues of the twelve Apostles, all of Silver, of a great Weight, and set with precious Stones, which the Bishop caused to be carried into his own Castle at *Touvois* for a greater Security, when he left the City for the first time, and the Castle being taken afterwards, the Statues had the same Fate; but it was loudly rumoured in publick, that they had been stolen away by the Bishop's Orders, to the end that, under that specious Pretence, he should not be obliged to restore the Treasure he had been intrusted with; and that when he went this Year to the Council of Trent, with a very grand Retinue and Magnificence, it was said by Jest in the Province, *That the Bishop could not be wanting of the Holy Ghost, since he carried along with him the twelve Apostles.*

Charles IX.
1563.
Pope Pius IV.

But amongst those who were the most cruel Persecutors of the Reformed in that Country, none could be paralleled to one *René de Champagne*, a compleat Knave in every respect, tho' noble by his Birth, and immensely rich, who being unable to bear Arms, because of a Lameness caused by a Luxation of both his Haunches, was exceedingly more cruel and inhuman than any Dragoon. This Gentleman living at *Peschesevil*, (it was the Name of his Country-Seat) caused, upon the least Suspicion,

Charles IX. 1563. Pope Pius IV. all those that fell into his hands, to be cast into a large Fish-pond, which he used to call in Jest his LARGE CUP; and it was confidently said, that he had killed that way above fifty. About three Years after the King being come to *Peschesevil*, asked the Man, How many Reformed he had invited to drink in HIS LARGE CUP? He answer'd in a Jest, that he never kept Account of such Trifles. There was another Man of the same kin with this, named *Bois-jordan*, in the Ponds of whom fifty Corps were found, which he had drowned therein (1).

BLAIS.
SOIS.

Blois.

As soon as the News came to *Blois*, that the Prince was Master of Orleans, the Reformed took the Castle and the Gates of Blois into their Custody, as well as the whole Administration of the Government, till that time that the Prince, having miscarried in his Undertaking at Talsy, came back to Orleans. For then the Triumvirate's Army, having sent a Detachment to take possession of Blois, as the Inhabitants of the Reformed Religion were not strong enough to resist, their Troops went out of the City, with their Colours flying, thro' a Gate opposite to that whereby the Enemy were coming, and retreated to Orleans; but in such a Hurry, and with such Consternation, that the Wealthiest had no time to take any thing out of their Houses. So the Enemy entered the City on the 1st of July, and turn'd every thing topsy-turvy.

Those Reformed that were found in the City were murdered, the Women and Virgins were forced, many being tied together to several Poles,

(1) Thuan. ubi supra.

Poles, were cast into the River and drowned; others shut up in Dungeons, where they suffered many Hardships, even for several Months after the Edict of Peace.

Charles IX.
1563.
Pope Pius IV.

At *Mer*, about ten Miles from Blois, most of the Inhabitants being Reformed, a Party of Horse and Foot was sent thither; and tho' they met at the second time, with no Resistance, nevertheless they ransacked the Borough for nine Days, murdered forty Men, (Beza reckons but four) and having gathered together the Women and Virgins, and having picked out the fairest, they abused them in the most brutish manner, some whereof died with Sorrow; and a young Gentlewoman of about twenty Years, having been tied up to a Bench, died in their hands; the Minister of the Place was cast into the River and drowned, according to Thuanus, but according to Beza, he was hang'd by the Duke of Guise's Orders (*m*).

Mer.

The City of *Tours* enjoyed peace, observing the Januarian Edict, 'till the Duke of Montpensier Governor of it, arrived about Mid-Lent; he caused the City-Gates to be shut up, two only excepted, which were kept by a party of his own Guard; then he summoned the chief Inhabitants Reformed, and sent some into Prison, without acquainting them with the reasons of their Confinement, and waited for the Triumvirs Orders; but he was much surpris'd at the number of the Reformed in the City, which was above four thousand, which number encreased every day since his coming: Therefore he issued out a Proclamation in the King's Name, ordering all the Inhabitants to bring their Arms into

Tou-
RAINE.
Tours.

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(*m*) Dinot. p. 156, 157. Beze liv. vii. p. 577, 580.
Thuan. lib. xxx. p. 101.

Charles

IX.

1563.

Pope Pius

IV.

the Town-House, which was executed. Nevertheless, the King's Officers having refused to condemn the Prisoners, he set out from that City the day after Palm-Sunday, and went to his Seat at *Champigny*, twelve Leagues distant from Tours, from whence he sent orders to *Chavigny* his Lieutenant, for assembling his Company with all speed, with as many of his Neighbours as he could, in order to go to Tours and chastise the Rebels, as he termed them, and those Judges that had refused to punish them. Which being understood by the Reformed, they thought proper to be beforehand with the Duke, and seize on the City; which they did on the 31st of March, however without any Disorder or Confusion, save only, that it was impossible to hinder the People from breaking the Images. When the Prince had notice of that Expedition, he sent a Gentleman into the City to be Governor. And whereas his Highness received but very little Money from the Churches, not sufficient for discharging the necessary Expences; he sent the Count of *La Rochefoucault* with *Genlis* and *Du Vigan* with their Companies to Tours, to make an Inventory of all the Relicks, and other such things belonging to the Churches of *St. Martin*, *St. Gracian* and others, and for carrying them to *Orleans*, to make use of them as necessity should require. That was executed in the presence of proper Magistrates: Amongst the Relicks, two very odd ones were found, which I shall describe here for their Singularity. The one was a long and large Cross over-laid with Gold and enamelled, of a very fine Workmanship; there was a fine round *Agate* of a very large size set in, wherein the Goddesses *VENUS* and *MARS* were ingraved with a *Cupid* between them; and a small piece of red wood,

wood, which they said was taken from the very Cross. All those Fineries were shewed only upon great Festivals, to be worshipped by the People that flocked and kissed very devoutly that Image. The next Relick was still more odd, it was two sham Sleeves of a violet Taffety, set in Crystal separately, which Sleeves the Priests affirmed to have been carried down from Heaven by an Angel, to St. Martin Bishop of Tours for covering his Wrists when he lifted up the Sacrament. That Story joined with several Bulls and Pardons granted by the Popes, had prevailed so far upon the People's Minds, that upon certain days in the Year, they came in vast crouds, bringing their Offerings to the Shrines; and it is not easy to imagine what vast Incomes these two Rags of Taffety brought to the Lawyers for about 70 Years together, because of an Action enter'd by the Canons of the two Chapters of St. Martin and St. Gracian against one another, to know to whom they ought to belong. But the Count of La Rochefoucault decided very wisely the matter, for he caused the Relick to be burnt; there was found in the Shrine of St. Martin, some Bones, Hammers, Nippers and Nails. In two other Shrines there were found the Stone whereupon the Virgin Mary washed the Infant Jesus's Clouts; and another Stone spotted with some Drops of the Blood issuing out of Jesus's Body upon the Mount Olivet. All these things were thrown away, but the Gold, Silver and precious Stones were inventorised and carried to Orleans (*m*).

Charles
IX
1563.
Pope Pius
IV.

These things served as a specious Pretence for every profligate Wretch to take up Arms, and make Incurfions into all the Boroughs and Villages with main force, and plunder the Houses,

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(*m*) Beze liv. viii. p. 583, 584.

Charles
IX.
1563.
Pope Pius
IV.

the Magistrate conniving at it. This occasioned likewise that severe Edict of the Parliament of Paris, whereby, the Reformed were outlawed, and the Catholicks of all Ranks and Degrees forever ordered to ring the Alarm-Bells, and fall upon them wherever they could be found, and murder them without mercy. That Edict being read every Sunday in the Pulpits by the Duke of Montpensier's Orders in his own Government; the Peasants encouraged by that, leaving their Husbandry-work, ran a plundering, having made choice of some of the most desperate Fellows amongst themselves to be their Captains. Part of them came to *Ligneuil*, a Borough upon the *Indre*, in the Country of Touraine, where they strangled some Men, and having pluck'd out the Eyes of the Minister of the Place, they burnt him little by little; others went to *Cormery*, *Loches*, *Isle-Bouchard* and *Azé*, and ransack'd almost every place where they went through. The Inhabitants of Tours understanding this, sent the Provost to punish the guilty, two whereof were hanged, but the said Provost was obliged to run away.

About the fifth of July, after the taking of Blois, an Herald was sent to Tours in the King's Name, to summon them to disband their Troops, to lay down their Arms, and to receive a Garrison from the King, declaring unto them, that in case of Disobedience, their City would be ransack'd. They gave no Answer to the Herald, but they sent some Deputies to the King, that promised to obey, and excused the taking up of Arms, that they had done it only for the King's Service, to keep the City under his Majesty's Obedience, and defend themselves against the Violence of their Enemies. That they had hurted

or wronged no body. That it was easy to judge by their Actions, that they had taken up Arms not for entertaining the War, but for maintaining Peace. That therefore they besought not to be treated as Rebels and Disturbers of the publick Peace, since they had never deviated from their Duty and Allegiance.

Charles
IX.
1563.
Pope Pius
IV.

The Necessity they were under, obliged them to speak at that rate; they knew very well that they had no Assistance to expect from the Prince of Condé. According to their Promises, they received a Garrison from the King, and dismissed their own Troops. Three Companies of Foot and two of Horse left the City, and took the road of Poitiers; but they were hardly six Miles off, when they found that the Peasants had obstructed their way, by putting Carts and Trees cross the Road. That Obstacle being removed, they were almost arrived at Poitiers, when on a sudden, they were overtaken by some Companies of Horse; whereat, most part surrendered themselves without resistance, those that resisted were routed or taken prisoners, these last were brought to the Count of Villars at *Chatelleraud*, whereof some by Money, others by Friends, and others by the Negligence of their Keepers were released. Those who had surrendered themselves being sent back to Tours without Arms, upon their *Parole*, were either murdered upon the road by the Peasants, or most sorely wounded, or routed and put to flight. About three hundred assembled together, thought to be safe in the Suburbs of Tours, but were no sooner arrived, than the Alarm-Bell rung in the City, whereupon, part of them ran away for their Safety; about two hundred tired with fatigue, unable to follow their Companions, were shut up in the Church of the

Charles

IX.

1563.

Pope Pius

IV.



said Suburbs, some of whom were redeemed by their Friends in the night-time; but others to the number of one hundred and forty, were drown'd next day in the River.

Those who had never stirred out nor taken up Arms, were no better used. For as many of them as could be apprehended during six days time, without any Distinction of Rank, Sex or Age, ended their Lives in the same manner; their Number was so prodigious, that the Banks of the River Loire several Miles down was covered with Corps; their Houses were plundered, and their Estates sold by Auction. I have already spoken in the 44th Article, of the great Barbarity used against the President of Tours, I shall not proceed any further into this horrid scene of Blood (o).

BRITA-
NY.

Britany was not at all exposed to the Horrors of this War. The Duke of Estampes Governor of it, was a Man of a very meek Temper, and knowing how the Queen-Mother stood affected towards the Reformed at the beginning of the Year 1562, was very kind and civil with them in his Government. But since the Viscount of Martigues his Nephew was join'd with him in that Government, the Reformed were forbid to assemble together in publick; and the Ministers were ordered to depart the Province, which they did. And the Duke having received Orders from the Queen to levy as many Troops as he could and march against the Prince, accordingly he and Martigues went into Normandy, with about four thousand Men; and the Re-

(o) Dinoth. p. 156, 157, Beza liv. viii. p. 581—599.
Thuan. lib. xxx. p. 101.

Reformed were not at all molested in their own Houses (p). Charles IX. 1563.

We have already spoken enough of the hard and cruel Usage which the Reformed received from the Catholicks in Normandy; I shall subjoin here, only this further Instance of Brutishness, viz. that at the sacking of Vire, the Bowels of the Reformed that had been slain and murdered were publickly exposed to Sale in the Streets (q). Pope Pius IV. NOR-MANDY.

And so the French Nation, which was deemed one of the most kind and polite, became on a sudden one of the most brutish wild and cruel, by a Zeal for Religion, which instead of taming the Fierceness of Men, as it is apt to do, when rightly used, served only to the embittering of all their bad Dispositions. The Catholicks were so much astonished and frightened at the very Name of REFORMATION, that they thought themselves to be fallen into Captivity; and the Reformed, who for the preserving of the Liberty of their Conscience, and the maintaining of the true Worship of God, had taken up Arms, brought upon themselves Slaughters and Miseries, and made no Progress at all as to the Propagation of the Reformed Religion; so true is this old saying, CHRISTUM ET MARTEM EX ÆQUO COLERE, IMPOSSIBILE EST: It is impossible to serve equally CHRIST and MARS.

Indeed, tho' the Reformed were indispensibly obliged, even by their Oath of Allegiance to wage War against the first Infractors of the King's Edicts, the Perturbators of the publick Peace, that trod under their Feet the Royal Au-

(p) Beze liv. viii. p. 748. Dinot. p. 152. (q) Eidem ibid.

Charles IX.
1563.
Pope Pius IV.

Authority, and all Right Divine and Human ; yet they carried it with such Heat and Passion, and many of them defended a good Cause with such unlawful Means, that really they were a disgrace to their own Profession, and lost the Merits of their past Sufferings.

It is true, they did not carry LEWDNESS and CRUELTY not near so far as the Catholicks ; nay, their Abstinence from those Crimes might be justly reckoned amongst the CHARACTE-
RISTICKS of the Reformed, even at that time we are speaking of ; but as to the other Vices they were much alike (I mean among the Sol-
diery) and Plundering, Swearing, Cursing, Ga-
ming, Drinking, &c. were as rife amongst them as amongst the Catholicks. And what shall we say of that FRANTICK ZEAL which carried them to that Degree of Madness, as (without any Authority, nay against the positive and se-
vere Prohibitions of their Superiors either in State or Church) to tear down the Images and pull down the Altars, to break in pieces the Crosses ; not considering, that for an Image or a Cross, they exposed so many hundred of their innocent Brethren that condemned such bad Methods, to the utmost Hatred of their Ene-
mies ? Were they actuated on these Occasions by the Spirit of St. Paul, when he was at A-
thens ? No, to be sure. These and other like Mischiefs, are the natural Fruits of Civil Wars, especially when Religion is any wise concerned in them, that is true : But it is true likewise, that such Wars ought never to be undertaken without an urgent Necessity, (as for certain this was) and then it must be used as a CAUSTICK, and not continue long upon the Body, lest it should destroy the very Vitals of it.

It

It was high time that Peace should succeed to War, for restoring the Ecclesiastical Discipline almost entirely decayed, and for healing the large and fore Wounds which Vice and Corruption of Manners had made in the Church's Body, whereby the Comeliness and Beauty of its Face was almost quite defaced.

Charles
IX.
1563.
Pope Pius
IV.

And if some over-refined Politicians of those Days relished not the Terms and Conditions of that concluded in March between the King and the Prince, it was because some of them postponed the publick to their private Interest; while others that were fighting only with their Tongues and Pen, were not sensible enough of the Miseries which Fire and Sword carry along with them.

Better Terms could have been obtained, had not the Prince been in such a Hurry, had he waited for the Admiral's coming; so was it said, and so much have I owned above. Then it would have been better to continue the War, till we had obtained our ends. Such an Inference supposes, 1st, That the King of France was actually in an Impossibility of receiving any Assistance from his Allies, to put him in a Condition of withstanding the Prince's Efforts, nay, of ruining him utterly; the Absurdity of which Supposition, is obvious to every considering Man. 2dly, It supposes, that the Roman Catholicks can ever be tied up with any String strong enough to be indissoluble for them. But they do not consider, that it is with them, as it was with Samson, they break the seven Withs as a Thread of Tow, when it toucheth the Fire; and new Ropes like a Thread; and can never be tied fast enough, no, not tho' the seven Locks of their HEAD were weaved with the Web, and fasten'd with the Pin, they would go away

Charles IX. 1563. Pope Pius IV. away with the Pin of the Beam, and with the Web; A NON OBSTANTE, AN ABSOLVO from the Pope goes so far with them, that it is impossible to follow them, or to have any Dependence upon their Word. The Januarian Edict was no sooner granted but it was broken; that of March 1568 had the same Fate; that of August 1570, was drawn and granted to no other Purpose than for wheedling the Reformed, in order to massacre them unmercifully two Years after, as it happened on Bartholomew's Day: And the famous Edict of Nantz, which the Catholicks themselves had thought for so many Years irrevocable, the Observation whereof had made a part of the Coronation-Oath of the two LEWIS's, XIII. and XIV. was most basely and shamefully repealed by this last Lewis, stiled by base Adulators, or unthinking Men, LEWIS the GREAT. But what signify those kinds of Security with a Roman Catholick? those Bonds that tie Men amongst themselves, and are stronger than an Iron Chain for People of any other Persuasion, even for Pagans; are they not like a Straw for him, who believes that Faith is not to be kept with Hereticks, but as long as his own Interest obliges him to keep it? Now then, what would have availed for the Reformed to have obtained better Terms by this Edict of Peace than they did? Nothing. For if this Edict, so disadvantageous to them, and advantageous to the Catholicks, was not kept, what could have been expected of another done to their advantage? Nothing again, but may be, a general Massacre. They stood in need of Peace, and a Peace upon better Terms was of no use to them, when no Good-will nor Good-intention was to be found in the Peace giver, for maintaining his Edict, and keeping his Faith. What

Charles
IX.
1563.
Pope Pius
IV.

What CONSTRUCTION Queen *Catherine* put upon the four Letters she wrote to the Prince, as mentioned in the Art. xxiii. of this Volume.

The First LETTER.

WHAT Monsieur Le Prince had sent to the Queen was, that he desired no better than to obey her; of which the Queen wrote to him, that she depended entirely upon it, and that as a Token of the Sincerity of his Words, she desired him to depart Paris, and to come and wait upon the King her Son and herself; being certain that if he would do that, the King of Navarr and the other Lords that were then at Paris would do the same.

The Second LETTER.

THIS Letter was written because the Queen had notice that the King of Navarr and the other Lords, assembled a vast number of Men from every part. Therefore she desired him to depart Paris, that they might have an Opportunity of doing the same; for she foresaw that if things were carried any further, it would prove the Ruin of the King, herself, and of the Kingdom, whereof she desires him not to be the Cause, because he only was the Occasion of it.

The Third LETTER.

IT shews forth the Meaning of the two preceding, and proves plainly that whatever she did, was only to this Intent, and to oblige him

him to depart Paris, as he had sent to her, that he would do, when her Letter was written, tending only to pacifying every thing.

The Fourth LETTER.

THE Queen having sent so many times to the Prince, that she intreated him to disarm ; he wrote to her, that she was deceived ; and that she might depend upon it, that if he departed Paris the first, and laid down his Arms, she would see things very unpleasing to her. Whereupon she answered, that she had seen so many things unpleasing to her, as the taking up of Arms, the keeping them against her Will, and refusing to lay them down at her Command ; that these Things would increase her Vexations, was it not that she was in hopes that he would obey, and not follow the Example of others ; and that were they any longer contending who should disarm the first, she foresaw the Ruin of the Kingdom : And that if the others, thro' their Obstinacy, had a mind to lose all, she desired him not to do the same ; being certain, that when they should be together with the King, they would meet together for taking a good Resolution, whereby they would heal all the Diseases, and prevent the Evils which she foresaw would befall. And that if he had produced a Letter subsequent to this, in answer to what he wrote in one of his own, that his Honour obliged him not to disarm the first, one would see that she told him, that, Honour was in him who will obey the first, and not in him who shall remain the last in Arms *.

What

* Addit. aux Mem. de Castelnau, Tom. I. liv. iii. ch. viii. p. 763, 764.

W H A T a fine thing it is to be a Florentine! Had this good Queen produced the Prince's Letters or Answers to her, she would, to be sure, have better cleared herself as to the Imputations laid to her charge, than she was able to do by all these refined Constructions she put upon her own Letters.

END OF THE SECOND VOLUME.

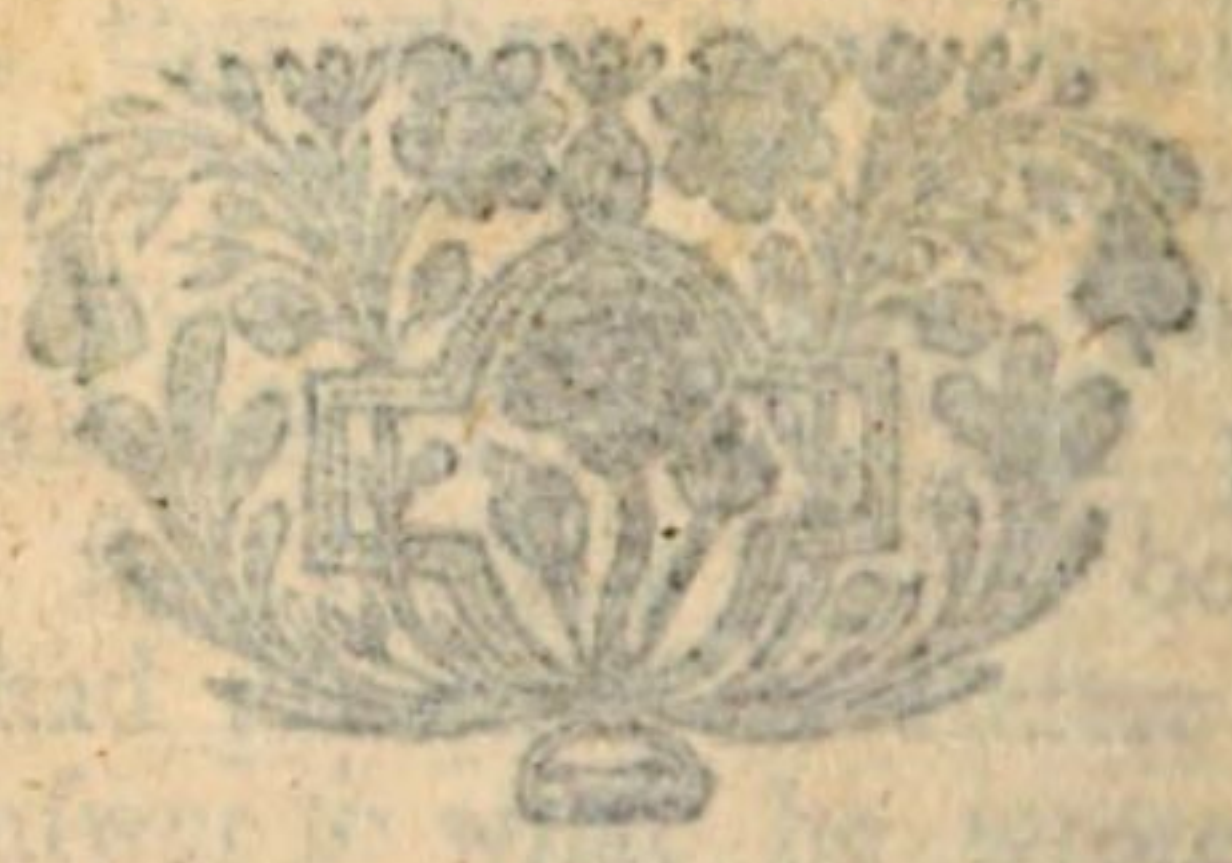


WHAT a fine thing it is to be a flower
that I had this good Queen produced the Prince's
letters or answers to her, the world, to be
sure, have better cleared herself as to the im-
putations laid to her charge, than she was able
to do by all these tedious Confessions she put
upon her own letters.

And now she was left alone, and she was
very much distressed, and she was very much
grieved, and she was very much distressed,
and she was very much distressed, and she was
very much distressed, and she was very much
grieved, and she was very much distressed,

END OF THE SECOND VOLUME.

And now she was left alone, and she was
very much distressed, and she was very much
grieved, and she was very much distressed,
and she was very much distressed, and she was
very much distressed, and she was very much
grieved, and she was very much distressed,



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grieved, and she was very much distressed,

ERRATA.

*The Reader is most humbly desired to take Notice
of these Errata, in the first Vol.*

PAge 21. Line 21. *Wirtemberg*, read *Wittemberg*. p.
327. l. 6. speaking of Baron de Ranty, it is said, (who
was afterwards Duke of Sully) that is a gross Mistake; I
can't tell whether it is my own, or the Copist's fault; how-
ever the least understanding Man in the French History,
knows, that the first Duke of Sully, was Maximilian of Be-
thune, Baron of Rosny, created Duke of Sully, by Hen-
ry IV. as we shall see hereafter.

*The Reader is most humbly desired to take Notice
of these ERRATA, for this Second Volume.*

PAge 18. Line 14. *secure* read *safe*. p. 22. l. 20. *why so?*
had, read *why so, had*. p. 41. l. 26. *least* read *left*. p.
49. l. 10. *losing* read *loosing*. p. 55. l. 15. *first* read *fifth*.
p. 92. l. 31. *Castelnau, d' Arry*, read *Castelnau d'Arry*. p.
94. l. 35. *to leave*, read *to avoid*. p. 100. l. 3. *frighted*,
read *frightned*. p. 104. l. 6. *to your*, add *Service*. p. 115.
l. 18. *Tassy*, read *Talfy*. p. 116. l. 2 & 3. *by which he*
was to rule himself, read *whereby he was to govern him-*
self. p. 145, last line, *thundered*, read *plundered*. p. 152.
l. 28. *that he*, read *that should be*. p. 173. l. 2. *for fear*
least, read *left*. p. 187. l. 10. *Albret*, read *D'Albret*. p.
208. l. 9. *sensible of it*. *Nevertheless*, read *sensible of it, ne-*
vertheless. p. 238. l. 5. *whence*, &c. read *thence he came*
to a place unknown to him. p. 239. l. 13. *hinted at*, read
hitted at. p. 245, l. 2. *todeed*, read *indeed*, l. 3. *alqwed*
read allowed, l. 4. *nuite*, read *quite*. p. 249. l. 16. *least*
the Prince's Understanding, read *left the Prince's Party un-*
derstanding. p. 253. l. 22. add *3dly before*, *That the*
Reformed. p. 264. l. 36. after *Rheims* add, and *Sens*. p.
278. l. 23. *spread*, read *spreadeth*. p. 279. l. 8. after *se-*
cond, add, *it*. p. 296. l. 35. *those* read *hese*. p. 303. l.
20. after *of Sorgues*, add, *that had been retaken, and was*.
p. 305. l. 37, 38. *by the back*, read *by the rear*. p. 308 l. 16.
Calsol's read *Cursol's*. p. 311. l. 25. 1563. read 1562. p.
314. l. 35. *attacked them*, read *he attacked them*. p. 325.
l. 8. *Bourgard*, read *Bourgarel*. p. 336. last Line, *Inhai-*
tants, read *Inhabitants*. p. 359. l. 6. of *LA Foy*, read
OF THE FAITH. p. 361. l. 28. *elected*, read *admitted*
to the Ministry. p. 377. l. 30. to *Xaintonge*, read *into*.

Laval, Étienne A.

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